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THE

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SIR JAMES [illegible] BART.

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NOTES AND ORIG[illegible]SPONDEN[illegible]

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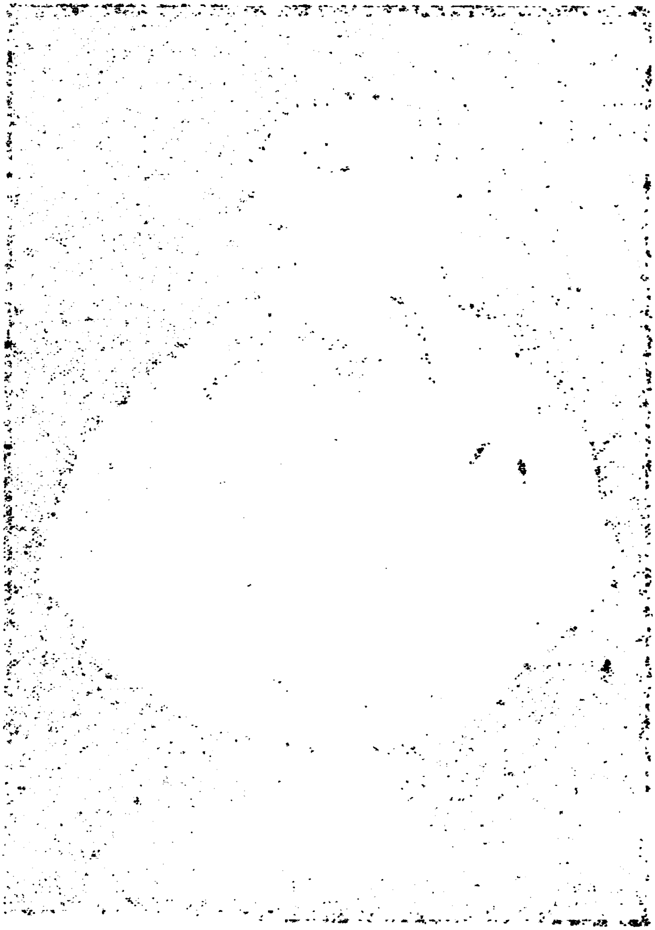

THE

AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND SERVICES

OF

SIR JAMES M^c^GRIGOR, BART.

LATE

DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF THE ARMY MEDICAL DEPARTMENT

WITH AN APPENDIX OF

NOTES AND ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE

LONDON

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THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE

K.G., K.P., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., &c.

GENERAL COMMANDING IN CHIEF

PREFACE.

THOUGH the merits and public services of men, who depart from among us in the quietude of retirement, at the close of a long life of usefulness, are more readily lost sight of than the merits of those who are suddenly snatched away in the midst of a brilliant career; yet not unfrequently the reminiscence of their names and works, is as much an act of justice to the individuals, as that of those who departed in the vigour of life, and in the freshness of their fame.

For, though they may have silently quitted the scene of their labours, forgotten in their retirement by the general public, as though they had never been; when the tenor of their lives attests beneficence of action, and great personal deserts in the particular sphere in which they moved; the remembrance of these, merits to be recalled, no less than the record of the lives of those who achieved renown in a more dazzling sphere of the public service.

As meriting such remembrance, Sir James M'Grigor must be considered to have established no slight claims, both in a professional and official point of view.

In the former of these he may be regarded in the light of a prominent and instructive beacon, to guide and to encourage all entering upon the same career as that in which he so eminently distinguished himself; and in the latter, as the first zealous and enlightened administrator of a department of the public service, to the official constitution of which, before his advent to its directorship, a serious proportion of the calamities which befel British troops in the field had been justly attributed.

To those, also, who are meritoriously advancing in the same career of social and national usefulness; and to the now remaining few who were his friends and colleagues in the service, we cannot doubt that the publication of these autobiographical recollections of the most active period of his long and well-spent life, will prove both welcome and interesting. And the more so, that it will present a more enduring testimony, not only to that private worth which gained for him the esteem and friendship of many of the most distinguished men of his time; but to those zealous labours in the cause of the science of medicine, by which he so greatly contributed to the elevation of the professional character of the medical

practitioner in the British army; and obtained for his brothers in science, that recognition of their *status* in our military system, which had been so ungraciously, and so impolitically withheld from them.

To the public at large, it will demonstrate the amount of public good which may be effected, by one willing to devote his mind and energies to the establishment of useful reforms; and will serve as another illustration of the truism, which happily is now becoming more generally recognised, that real advantage can accrue to the public service only when "the right man is in the right place."

It has been said, that the lives of few men are sufficiently diversified to be generally entertaining: but, however correctly this may apply to the lives of men in general, it may be safely affirmed, that the narrative of the career of Sir James M^c^Grigor will be admitted as one more exception to the validity of that maxim; for though penned without effort to captivate by grace of style or diction, it often presents, colloquially, as it were, a narrative of much diversity of incident and interest, which derives, also, no slight charm from the frequent ingenuous abandonment with which the circumstances are related.

For the attainment of a correct estimate of a man's merits, and of the secret of his success, the mere consideration of the facts of his life, or of the progressive steps by which he evinced the one, and achieved the other, suffices but seldom. These pre-

sent alone the material result, and leave the judgment uncertain as to the constitution of mind in the individual, which contributed more especially to the success obtained. The concurrent contemplation of this element, furnishes alone the real solution, and brings cause and effect at once in all the strength of their affinities before the mind. We will here, therefore, consider both the circumstances under which the Author entered upon his career, and those characteristics of the man, by the gift of which he was enabled to attain so eminent a rank in his profession, and establish so high a claim to the esteem of his countrymen.

It was the fortune of James M^c^Grigor to enter upon his professional career, not only in an eventful time, but one in which his special characteristics and qualifications were the more likely to obtain an early appreciation, from the circumstance of their contrasting favourably with the deficiencies which then prevailed, even in the higher grades of the British Military Medical Department.

In 1794, no sooner had he joined the regiment, to the surgeoncy of which he had been gazetted, than he at once entered upon the active-service duties of the profession, for which he had evinced an early predilection. The short initiatory practice which he obtained in the field, in the disastrous campaign in Holland, was speedily extended on his return to England, in the medical superintendence of the large

garrison of Norwich, where the typhus fever prevailed in every regiment that composed it. The experience thus acquired, was increased with little intermission in the expedition to the West Indies, under Sir Ralph Abercrombie; with service in the East Indies; in the Egyptian campaign, under Sir David Baird; and shortly after, in the expedition to Walcheren, so fatal to the health of the troops employed; and so strikingly indicative of the defects in the administration of the Medical Department of the Army at that period.

Successive and ample scope was thus presented to Dr. McGrigor, for the development of those abilities which, directed by a perspicuous judgment and natural administrative tact, were to bring him, in the Peninsular war, to the front rank in that department of the service, of which, under the eye of a commander, than whom none was more skilled to discriminate the fitness of the man for the occasion, he was eventually to stand forth in the more prominent capacity of chief and administrator.

But apart from those abilities with which he was gifted for the profession of medicine, he possessed an individuality of character, which especially fitted him for the achievement of a successful career as a military medical officer.

A clear and determinate conception of duty in its strictest military sense, induced in him that rigid regard for its punctual observance under every cir-

cumstance of time and place, which, combined with an untiring zeal, and general courtesy of manner, first attracted the notice, and then won the confidence and esteem of his commanders. His was not a mind to content itself with a mere respectable observance of the duties which the routine of the service imposed upon the medical officer. No intervals of remission from the toils of active service were welcomed by him as opportunities for a slothful respite from the object which he had mentally marked out as the one, constant, prescribed aim of his life.

When the period of practical exertion ceased, or was for a while suspended, the study of the science of his profession, the organisation of plans for remedying the defects he had found in the department of the service to which he belonged; or the careful noting of every phase of the diseases which had come under his observation, with their varied treatment, and the inductions arrived at, became for him new duties of paramount interest.

In those moments, therefore, when the majority of men seek rest, as it were, in the indulgence of other pursuits and tastes, he was assiduously preparing himself for the eventualities of a wider sphere of activity. With the increased labours of a more extended field of action, so his zeal and assiduity in their performance exhibited a corresponding expansion; and, in his case, the capacity to fulfil them

became but the more evident, in the ratio of their increase. Gifted with no ordinary share of tact, in his relations with his subordinates, as with his superiors, evincing no less aptitude to conciliate, and win respect for his suggestions, than to detect deficiencies, he possessed an inherent faculty for organisation, surpassed by no medical officer of his day.

Upon his return from the Egyptian campaign and India, his assiduous discharge of the superintendence of the medical concerns of the Northern District of England, led to his promotion to the inspectorship of the South-west District. In his zealous performance of the more extensive and onerous duties which there devolved to him, the same appropriate direction of the means to the end, which had become the habit as it was the object of the mind that kept it constantly in view, characterised the labours of Dr. McGrigor. And on his return from the expedition to the Scheldt, where his able superintendence of the medical service as Inspector of Hospitals, was particularised in a despatch from Lieutenant-General Sir Eyre Coote to Viscount Castlereagh, "as most unremitting and praiseworthy;"* the wide sphere of duties which he had so effectively discharged in the South-west District was again confided to him. It was thus that

* Hansard, Expedition to the Scheldt, vol. xv. p. 64.

each successive stepping-stone, by which he rose to eminence, may be said to have been wrought and laid, rather by his own meritorious exertions, than by the mere fortuitous aid of circumstances and of friends.

This was made especially evident when, in 1811, his reputation as one of the ablest and most energetic officers of the service, brought to him unsought, and almost against his wishes*, his appointment to the Inspector-Generalship of the Medical Department of the Army engaged in the Peninsular War.

In that year, the Duke of York received a letter from Lord Wellington, urging His Royal Highness to send him an Inspector-General of Hospitals, in whose talents and judgment he could place entire confidence, to conduct the Medical Department of the army under his command, in the place of Dr. Frank, incapacitated by illness.

In the Duke's despatch dated Frenada, Oct. 3rd, 1811, this wish is also expressed in the following words: that he "should have the most active and intelligent person that can be found to fill his station."†

Upon the receipt of Lord Wellington's letter, the Duke of York sent an order to Dr. McGrigor, then Inspector-General of Hospitals at Portsmouth, to

* He had then been but recently married.

† Despatches of the Duke of Wellington, vol. viii. p. 365.

proceed to the head-quarters of Lord Wellington; and wrote at the same time to his Lordship, expressing his confidence that, in the officer he sent him to conduct the Medical Department of the army, his Lordship would find all he could desire; having been well acquainted with his merits for a long time. How well the Duke of York's estimate of the thorough efficiency of Dr. M^c^Grigor to discharge the onerous and responsible duties of the post to which he appointed him, was justified; was made evident, both after the siege and capture of Badajoz in 1812, in a despatch from Lord Wellington to the Earl of Liverpool, (April 8th, 1812); and at the close of the Peninsular War, by the terms in which the Duke of Wellington wrote of Dr. M^c^Grigor: "I have every reason to be satisfied with the manner in which he conducted the department under his direction, and I consider him one of the most industrious, able, and successful public servants I have ever met with."*

That his professional merits, his services, and his character were no less appreciated and warmly recognised by his medical brethren of the army, was evinced on his return to England, by the presentation to him, in 1814, of a costly service of plate, from the physicians, surgeons, apothecaries, and purveyors, who had served with him in the Peninsular War. In the same year, Dr. M^c^Grigor

* Despatches of the Duke of Wellington, vol. xii. page 79.

had received the honour of knighthood; and the year following, was appointed a member of the Medical Board, of which he was shortly afterwards constituted chief and administrator, as Director-General.

He had now achieved the position which was to enable him to carry out those plans of improvement in the executive, and in the working details of the Army Medical Department, which he had so long conceived and kept in view.

In conjunction with the multifarious duties of his office, the elaboration and introduction of those plans, was a self-imposed duty accompanied with no ordinary labour; and an approximate estimate may be formed of the task he assumed, and so ably accomplished, by a cursory glance at the constitution and administrative system of the Army Medical Board, previous to and at the period of his entry upon his professional career in 1793, many remaining defects of which still required correction.

Up to the period of the Military Inquiry instituted in 1808, into the administration of the Board, as constituted in 1794; the Medical Department of the British Army had been conducted in much the same manner as every other department of the public service, whether civil, naval, or military, since the days of George II.

The well-known motto from Horace, "Decipimur specie recti," had so long been applied to express

the official estimate of the intelligence of the public, that it had become a traditional maxim in every department; and the constitution and working system of each, evinced the fullest reliance on the correctness of that estimate. There were doubtless grounds sufficient for such an appreciation of the public mind.

From the want of sufficient general knowledge to see things as they really were, they had been accepted for what they seemed to be. The name and the appearance were quite sufficient to effect the deception; and from the year 1747, when a warrant of George II. created an Apothecary-General "perpetual furnisher, with remainder to his heirs, of all the medicines necessary for the general service of the land forces of Great Britain," an imposing authoritative precedent was established for the exercise of a system of monopoly, of exclusive patronage, and collusions in the Army Medical Service, prejudicial alike to the army itself, and to the interests of the public.

Some intrusion upon these vested rights of the Apothecary-General would appear nevertheless to have been made at a subsequent period; since, until the close of 1796, the surgeon of each regiment, aided by a surgeon's assistant, received a sum proportioned to the strength of the corps, on the condition that he furnished all the necessary medicines. It was then, however, regulated that those medicines

should be provided anew by the Apothecary-General; that hospital allowances and all contingent expenses should be paid by the public, and that the pay of the surgeons should be increased; obviously to indemnify them for the loss of the emoluments previously enjoyed.

Though the supreme Medical Board constituted in 1794, for the better administration of the medical affairs of the army, was an improvement upon the pre-existing system, and received further modifications in 1798, yet the regulations then devised for its governance still left open a wide field for misrule. The Board as then constituted, and as it remained up to the accession to office of ~~Sir James M^c^Grigor in 1815,~~ was composed of a physician-general, a surgeon-general, and an inspector-general of hospitals. Each of these members exercised an exclusive and independent patronage over one branch of nominations and promotions. By the regulations laid down in 1798, it was the province of the physician-general to nominate to office all the physicians of his department, and to inspect the medicines furnished to the army by the apothecary-general, whose accounts he was to control jointly with the surgeon-general. He was further to preside in all matters concerning medical science; the examination of candidates for offices in the Medical Department of the Army, and in the military hospitals.

To the Surgeon-General was assigned the appointment of all the surgeons of his department; and as the exigencies of the service required, the discretion of placing those who were disposable, in the hospitals, camps, and military districts. It was further his duty to demand by way of requisition, of the Inspector of Hospitals*, apothecaries, hospital assistants, &c.; and to examine and check the charges of the Apothecary-General relative to surgery. To the Inspector of Hospitals devolved the appointment and promotion of the apothecaries, purveyors, and their deputies, assistants, nurses, and servants for the hospital; the direction of the transport of medical supplies to the army and hospitals; and lastly, in conjunction with the Surgeon-General, the examination of the claims of military officers for wounds and loss of limb.

From this separation of the service and patronage into three branches, made wholly independent of each other, though in reality they were mutually dependent by the very nature of things, arose many great inconveniences.

The Surgeon-General was debarred of all right to present either the physicians of the army, or the inspectors, the purveyors, apothecaries, or hospital assistants to promotion. Yet, was he held responsible for the functions of all those officers, since he

* Inspectors of hospitals and their deputies had been first appointed in ~~[illegible]~~ 1798. (See Appendix No. 22. in Fifth Report of the Commissioners of Military Enquiry. 1808)

had the disposal of them in the different posts of service in the army. In like manner, the Inspector-General of Hospitals chose on his own responsibility for the service of those hospitals, the surgeons and assistant surgeons who were nominated and promoted on other recommendation than his own. But a yet greater evil resulted from this independent partition of authority. Each of the three chiefs of departments, as head of a particular branch of the Medical Service, did his utmost to increase the importance of that branch; and to augment the number of officers under his personal orders, to a much greater extent than was required.

Upon numerous occasions, moreover, when the different talents and acquirements of the three heads of departments, might have been combined with the greatest advantage upon questions of high importance to the service, each of them jealous of his authority, preferred deciding for himself, even though in an imperfect or erroneous judgment, rather than consult with his colleagues, lest he should be controlled.

By a regulation, also, of 1798, the regimental surgeons were made at once medical officers, contractors, and managers of expenditure; a triple faculty of action that opened a field for abuses, which could be turned to account by any who in the spirit of common contractors might be disposed to see an occasion for making money in the furnishing of sup-

plies. It would, however, be difficult to believe, so powerful in the learned professions is the sentiment of the honour of their calling, that even at that time, when the subordinate class of medical officers was not always composed of men of the high standard of a later period, advantage was taken of such opportunities for malversation.

Such nevertheless, might have been, and were too frequently in other departments, the pernicious effects of all regulations which granted privileges to those who made the necessary supplies for the service of the state; abuses made evident by several orders of the day of the Duke of Wellington in Portugal and Spain up to 1810.

The correction of the defects, and the curb put upon the profuse expenditure brought to light by the Military Inquiry which terminated in 1812, led, however, in the latter case, as is frequently the result when a too trenchant economy is aimed at, to errors of another kind in the Army Medical Department. The pruning knife was applied to trivialities, and to those merely, in the most inexorable manner. Thus the official relations between the Board and the medical officers of the service, became matters of figures, and little else; in which the higher professional interests and those of science, were almost wholly sacrificed to pence.

These prefatory remarks to the Autobiography of Sir James M[c]Grigor, as defining somewhat, for the

reader, the earlier part of his career, his character, his abilities, and his capacity to fill the high office he subsequently obtained, may herewith be concluded. We now refer the reader to the Author's own narrative, and the successful issue of his long official labours, rewarded as they were with high and well-earned honours, and the gratifying consolation at the close of his life, that he had passed it usefully, in the service of his country, and in the cause of humanity; winning from all men, according to the relations in which they were connected with him in service, in office, and in private life, either their friendship and esteem, or their love, respect, and gratitude.

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AUTOBIOGRAPHY

OF

SIR JAMES M^cGRIGOR.

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Birth and Parentage of Sir James McGrigor.—His Success at the Grammar School of Aberdeen.—Graduates at Marischal College.—Studies the Medical Profession.—Proceeds to Edinburgh.—Elected Member of the Medical and Chirurgical Society.—His Departure for London.—Determines upon entering the Army.

I AM the eldest of three sons of Colquhoun McGrigor, Esq., a merchant of Aberdeen, by Ann the daughter of Lewis Grant, Esq., of Lethendrey in Strathspey, Inverness-shire, where I was born. My brother Robert followed his father's occupation, and my youngest brother, Lieut.-Colonel McGrigor, who served with distinction in the East and West Indies, America, and other quarters, particularly at the capture of Seringapatam, died at Nottingham in 1841.

I was educated at the Grammar School, Aberdeen, which had at that time a high reputation, as one of the

first of the public schools in Scotland; Dr. Dun being the Rector, with able teachers for the five classes. At the conclusion of the five years' course, there was an examination; and on that occasion an event occurred, the most joyous to me, as I often recounted, of any in my life. In the evening of the day, the whole of the pupils were assembled in the public hall, in the presence of the Lord Provost, Magistrates, Professors of the University, and the clergy of the city, and my name being called aloud by the Rector, he announced to me, in a Latin oration, that the first prize had been awarded to me. He then presented me to the Lord Provost, who complimented me in a Scottish address; and I left the public school amidst the applause of the assembly; from which I ran to my father's house, at a quicker pace than ever I ran in the course of my life, to announce my success in having obtained the highest prize in the fifth or high class. It has since been my good fortune to obtain various distinctions and honours, but with none of them have I been more elated than by the prize which I then gained, when it was presented to me by the Lord Provost. My heart did not swell with more pride, when, nearly half a century afterwards, I was elected Lord Rector of my Alma Mater and of the University of Aberdeen.

Having pursued my studies during the usual period of five years at the Grammar School, I entered the first, or Greek class, of Marischal college. This college has

numbered among its professors, during the last three centuries, some of the most distinguished men the country has produced. At the period adverted to, the names of Principal Campbell, the author of the work on "Miracles," which originated in his Controversy with Hume; Dr. Beattie, the philosopher and poet, Dr. Hamilton the mathematician, Dr. Gerard, &c. &c., were well known by their writings.

Having with the fourth or *magistrand* class finished the prescribed course of study, and taken the degree of A.M., which was then obtained after an examination not the most severe and searching, I left college.

For a year or more before I left college, the question as to what profession I should follow had often been mooted to me, both by my excellent father and beloved mother.

Although it was the wish, and I believe the earnest desire of my father, that I should follow his profession, and succeed him in it, as a general merchant; yet as I evinced a disinclination to it, he readily fell in with my excellent and amiable mother's advice, not to urge me.

Of my early associates and friends, a large proportion had entered on the study of medicine. With these young men I spent much of my time; I accompanied them to the Royal Infirmary, and, as their books fell in my way, I felt much interest in medicine, and more especially in works on physiology, and even on

anatomy. This brought me immediately to a decision as to the profession which I would follow, and my parents did not baulk my choice.

One of the senior students, a Mr. Farquhar, obtained through his friends the appointment of assistant surgeon to a regiment stationed in Jamaica. The moment he obtained it, he exchanged his round hat for a smart cocked hat, mounted a cockade in it, and strutted to the Infirmary; where at twelve o'clock daily, all the medical students usually attended to accompany the physicians and surgeons of the hospital through the different wards. He attracted the attention of all, and the admiration of some.

Although I said nothing to my father on the subject of the army, yet the cockade and cocked hat, with the smart appearance of Farquhar, took hold of my fancy, and were not entirely effaced from it for several years after I joined the army.

Another circumstance occurred, which tended to strengthen the impression which Mr. Farquhar's martial appearance had made upon me. At the house of a relative (an excellent, hospitable old lady), I met frequently, among others, the late General David Stuart, of Garth, who then joined the gallant 42nd Regiment as ensign, and with whom to the end of his life I continued on terms of friendship. It will readily be believed that the splendid Highland uniform of Ensign Stuart did not diminish the impression which Mr. Farquhar

had left on me; still I had no ardent desire for the military profession; to which I may add, that by this time having warmly entered upon the study of medicine, I was delighted with it, and had become enthusiastic about the profession; for I had often heard the name of Dr. Fordyce, of his brother Sir William Fordyce, a medical officer in the army, of Sir Walter Farquhar and Dr. Saunders, and others; all of whom had in early life studied in Aberdeen, and gone to London, where they obtained the highest eminence in the profession.

Having therefore decided on the profession of medicine as that which I intended to follow, I commenced the study of it under Dr. French, physician to the County Infirmary, and attended the few lectures then in existence on the different branches. After three years' attendance at the infirmary and the dispensary, I proceeded to Edinburgh, in company with two English students, who had passed through the collegiate course at King's College, Aberdeen.× In the autumn of the same year, we set out on our tour, a very agreeable pedestrian one; visiting the ancient university of Saint Andrew's and other notable places by the way, and we reached Edinburgh in a week after leaving Aberdeen.

At Edinburgh I attended Dr. Monro's class of anatomy, Mr. Fife's Demonstrations, and Dr. Gregory's Practice of Physic.

During the Christmas vacation I went to Glasgow; chiefly to see the state of the university there. I heard

× Probably John Evans (see page 6) and Joseph Hughes both of whom went to Kings College in [illegible] and graduated M A in [illegible]

several of the Professors' lectures, but was most pleased with Dr. Hope, then a young man, and professor of chemistry, who performed the experiments with singular success, never failing in one.

Refreshed by my trip to Glasgow, I returned to Edinburgh, and resumed my studies with such intense application, that my constitution gave way. By the end of the session, my friends became alarmed, and I returned to Aberdeen accompanied by Mr. John* Evans, one of my fellow travellers in the pedestrian tour to Edinburgh. Several months passed before I recovered my health.

On my return from Edinburgh, where I had been elected a member of the medical and chirurgical society, in concert with Dr. Robertson, we laid before a meeting of the students at Aberdeen the plan of a medical society for that city. Inconsiderable as it was on its first formation in 1789, its growth has been extraordinary since, and it now takes a considerable place among the literary institutions of Aberdeen.

From the earliest period of the institution of the Medical Society of Aberdeen, in whatever quarter of the globe I was stationed, I never ceased to entertain the warmest interest in its prosperity. I watched its advancement and its success with the anxiety of a parent. By my own subscriptions, donations of books, and continued warm importunities to my numerous friends, I obtained no small proportion of the funds

*Johannes Evans, Monumethensis, M.A. King's Coll. Aberdeen 1790.

required for the erection of the handsome building which the society now possesses, and which contains its valuable library, museum, &c.

Having now finished my education for the profession of medicine, it at last became a question how I should enter life in the practice of it; and different views were taken of this. Dr. French, who had been educated in London under his two uncles Dr. George Fordyce and Sir William Fordyce, had himself entered the profession as a general practitioner in London, but was soon after appointed surgeon to the Northern Fencible Regiment, quartered at Aberdeen, of which the Duke of Gordon was Colonel; however, on the disbandment of the Northern Fencible Regiment, flattering prospects were held out to Dr. French, of success in Aberdeen as a physician, which he embraced, and maintained a high professional reputation till the close of his life. He strongly inculcated on my father, the course originally projected for himself, and after full consideration I consented to adopt it. I did so the more readily, as it met the wishes of my beloved mother, who was ardently desirous that I should not go abroad.

I may here advert to an important event of the times. While I was at Edinburgh, the French revolution broke out, which was at first hailed with joy by no small portion of the students, by whom its merits were warmly discussed; and I brought the contagion of republicanism with me to Aberdeen, where I found it warmly

advocated, particularly in the university. I associated so much with those who advocated the revolution, as to give uneasiness to some of my friends; and I was strongly cautioned against giving expression to my opinions on the subject, which were in no long time, however, entirely changed after my entering the army.

At length, in 1793, having taken leave of numerous kind friends, my departure by a vessel for London was at hand. I proceeded on board, and we sailed immediately after I had bidden adieu to my father and brother. The passage was a cheerless one. I was the only passenger; we had rough weather, and with only the master and mate of the vessel, both very homely personages, my society on board was by no means enviable. One day, while it continued to blow very hard, my baggage got loose, and along with my trunks was a small box which contained a skull and some bones of the human subject, the different parts of which it had formerly cost me some trouble to connect and to denote by writing. When the frail box burst open with all its contents, the sailors declared that the cause of the bad weather was now apparent, and insisted on throwing all the bones overboard; but as I stoutly resisted, and the master of the vessel at length sided with me, I was allowed to retain, and repack my bones. After this, contrary to the expectation of the sailors, we had fair weather till we cast anchor in the Thames.

As might have been expected, my letters of introduc-

tion to various individuals were of little service to me in London; some of them, nevertheless, procured me kind attention and hospitality. I remember especially with pleasure the kindness of the late Dr. Saunders, of Sir Walter Farquhar, and Sir Gilbert Blane.

By this time the war of the revolution commenced against France. In London I met many of my friends from Aberdeen, and stimulated by everything around me, I determined on serving as a medical officer in the army.

CHAP. II.

Purchases his Surgeoncy in the 88th Regiment (or Connaught Rangers). —Joins at Chatham.—Duels.—Ordered to Jersey.—Typhus Fever.—Sails for Ostend.—Fire on Board Ship.—Siege of Bergen-op-Zoom.—The Duke of York.—Siege of Nimeguen.—Retreat.—Sufferings of the Army.—Second Outbreak of Typhus Fever.—Return to England.

From colonels of regiments, who were then in every quarter of the kingdom raising new corps for the service, I learned that General De Burgh, afterwards Earl of Clanricarde, was similarly engaged. I wrote to my father so earnestly upon the subject of the purchase of a surgeoncy, that he consented, and gave me a draft on his bankers in London. I negotiated for the purchase with the late Mr. Greenwood, then of the Army-agency house of Cox and Greenwood; and I can never forget what passed at that negotiation. Having heard that General De Burgh's would be an Irish regiment, I urged that as an objection to Mr. Greenwood, saying, I would prefer a Scottish corps. He told me with a smile that I was very wrong, and that he would recommend me to go into any regiment rather than a Scottish regiment. Your prudent countrymen, he said, will soon make their way in an English or Irish regiment, but in

one of their own corps there are too many of them together; they stand in the way of each other. In the course of my military career, I often met Mr. Greenwood, and he never failed to remind me of this admonition, asking me always jocosely: "Do you repent the advice I thought it wise to give to you?"

The purchase of the surgeoncy of General De Burgh's regiment being completed, I was gazetted, and ordered to join the corps then forming at Chatham. I arrived at a small inn, then within the gates of the garrison, which I observed to be crowded with young officers, like myself, joining the army for the first time. I soon equipped myself, and paid my respects to Major Keppel, the officer in command of General De Burgh's regiment; and I have never forgotten his salutation on my presenting myself: "Well, Mr. McGrigor, I believe you are north of the Tweed: I am south of it, and here we stand alone; all the other officers are from the sister isle; every one of them from Galway: therefore we must be on our good behaviour." In fact the officers were not only all Irish, but almost all of one sept or family; all more or less nearly related to the colonel; all of them having raised men, Connaught Rangers, for their rank. But I must say there never was a finer set of young men, with more appearance of being the sons of gentlemen, congregated in any corps in His Majesty's service.

On the morning after my arrival at Chatham, I was

awakened about daylight, by a great noise in the house; and on inquiry, I found that two of the inmates, two young officers, who like myself had arrived the day before, had been out, in consequence of a dispute on the way, and one of them was killed. The bringing in of the body was the noise that had disturbed me. Neither of the combatants was a Connaught Ranger, although both were from the Emerald isle. This incident, in the house where I lodged, on the first day after my joining the army, took great hold of my mind; and no doubt influenced my after life; by making me cautious, and studious to avoid brandy-and-water parties at night.

Another incident which took place soon after, I cannot omit; as it had a strong influence in confirming the impression which the previous one had made on me, and which in no small degree tended greatly to regulate my conduct, ever after, in the army.

While the corps was assembling and forming at Chatham, and before it was completed and became numbered as a regiment, there was no regular regimental mess. For some time the officers of General De Burgh's regiment formed a part of the general detachment mess of the garrison at Chatham, and officers as they joined became members of this mess. I did as my brother officers did; I joined with them the detachment mess, which was composed of very gentlemanly men of various corps. Among the members of this

mess who took a lead, was a Captain Sparrow, of what regiment I now forget, but as Colonel Sparrow he became afterwards the husband of Lady Olivia Sparrow, and their daughter is now the Duchess of Manchester. The officers of the Connaught Rangers being, as I have already said, almost all of them relatives in some degree, and of one family, were a most regular and orderly conducted set of young men. It having been observed among ourselves, that there were some late sitters at the detachment mess, we agreed that we would daily leave the dinner-table whenever the signal was given that a pint of wine for each, had been drunk. I happened one day to sit next to Captain Sparrow at table, and Captain Law (the son of Archdeacon Law of Rochester), of another regiment, sat on the other side. When, at the agreed signal, the whole of the officers of General De Burgh's regiment stood up to depart, Sparrow, in the most good-humoured manner, insisted that Captain Nicolson, an officer of the Rangers, and I, should not go; and consequently put his hands upon my shoulder. When all the officers of De Burgh were leaving the room, a jocular hissing was heard to proceed from one or two of the sitters. On going out, and when the officers of my corps saw Sparrow's arm on my shoulder, while he was entreating me not to go, Captain Blake, and others, shouted to me from outside the window, not to allow myself to be detained; and accordingly, when I had determined to go, I parted with Sparrow

and the others, in the best humour. On joining my brother officers, however, on the pavement in front of the mess-house, I was surprised to find them in an agitated state, and an angry feeling generally prevailing. There was immediately a meeting of the officers, at which it was decided that, an insult had been offered to the officers of General De Burgh's regiment, by the officers of the detachment mess, in the persons of two of our officers, the Surgeon, and Captain Nicolson, who, I ought to have added, was detained at the same time with me, or rather supposed to be detained. It was quite in vain that Captain Nicolson and I declared that no offence had really been committed against us, that the show of constraining us to stay after the other officers got up, was a mere jocular business; that everything was done in kindness, and that in fact, when we at length determined to go, they instantly permitted us, with sentiments of regret that we left their society. All this availed nothing: it was the unanimous opinion of all the officers, Nicolson and myself excepted, that an insult had been offered in our persons to the corps; and the next resolution was, that this insult to the corps must be atoned for. The resolution, which followed close upon this, not a little astonished Nicolson and myself. It was, that Nicolson and I should demand satisfaction for the corps, from the officers of the detachment mess; and that we were to call out Captain Sparrow and Captain Law. Captain

Nicolson was not less astonished than myself at this hasty demand ; for he had as little taken offence at the antagonist whom it was determined in our safe council he should call out.

Our respective messages to the two gentlemen whom we were ordered to fight having been sent, they, after expressing extreme astonishment, requested to see us. This being thought informal, they readily offered to apologise in any way to the officers of De Burgh's regiment, as they had not the most distant intention of offering insult or offence to a corps of officers whom they respected and esteemed collectively and individually. On this offer being laid before the meeting of officers, it was deemed insufficient; and it was decided, as the insult had been public, that the apology must be made publicly, on the parade of the garrison, and in the hearing of the whole officers of the garrison who might be present on parade. This was assented to by our two antagonists, and proved satisfactory to those who had ordered us to meet them. We shook hands and parted, to my no small delight; and I determined in my own mind that by no possibility, would I ever again be brought into a similar situation.

After the conclusion of this business, Captain Sparrow called upon Captain Nicolson and myself, and asked us to dine with him on the following day at the Mitre Tavern, Rochester; and told us that he would, if agreeable to us, ask Captain Nicolson's opponent to be of

the party. To this Nicolson and I readily assented. Nicolson was an extremely good-humoured fellow, and an Irishman. He was withal a very clever fellow; and had much more experience in the world, and of military affairs, than any other officer in the corps. He had passed his fortieth year, and for the last few years, and during the revolution, had served in the French army. He had imbibed a good deal of the feelings of Frenchmen of that day; but he was a man of high honour, and when he found his own country engaged in war with France, he immediately left the French army, and returned to his own, where he had previously attained the rank of captain. In a new levy such a man as Nicolson, with the experience he had gained, was a great acquisition to us; for with two or three exceptions, all the rest of the officers were what was called raw hands.

At the Mitre Tavern, Sparrow had prepared a magnificent banquet for us. We sat long, and indulged most liberally in the juice of the grape. On the following day, Colonel Keppel sent for me to his quarters. After I was seated, he spoke ironically of the entertainment of the preceding evening, which was by this time the subject of conversation throughout the garrison. He said that there was an extraordinary report of my exploits as a hard drinker; and that after disposing of all my friends at the Mitre Tavern, I had quietly gone home, not the least affected by the immense potations I

had shared in. He said that he gave not the least credit to this extraordinary rumour, as it could not be true that I, a professional man, should be distinguished in such a manner. After quietly hearing him out, I replied that, I was very sorry to say the report he had heard was to a certain extent true, and that he might rely upon it I would never again be a partaker in such a scene as that which he now alluded to. He replied most kindly: "I give you the fullest credit for your candid acknowledgment, and from your countenance and manner I am fully assured you have not been accustomed to such scenes; and that you will never give cause again for the report which has made such a noise in the garrison." This business made a deep impression on my mind; and during the eleven years I remained in the 88th Regiment, as well as afterwards, I was noted as one of the most temperate members of the mess.

By this time, 1794, we had collected a considerable number of men, and we got our Colours and Number, to wit, the 88th or Connaught Rangers. Orders then arrived from the Horse Guards for our embarkation at Gravesend, for the island of Jersey; where, upon our arrival, we were placed in the barracks at St. Helier's, at head quarters.

Lord Balcarras was then the Governor of Jersey, Major-General Gordon and Brigadier-General Monson serving under him. The garrison of Jersey consisted of the Buffs or 3rd Foot, the 63rd, a regiment of

Fencibles, and another regiment, the name of which I forget.

I here first had the pleasure of meeting with Dr. Robert Jackson, surgeon of the Buffs; a very able man, and celebrated as the writer of many of the best works on military surgery, and on the constitution and organisation of armies. Dr. Cormac, of the 63rd Regiment, was likewise an old and experienced officer.

When we arrived in Jersey, it was in the heat of the most bloody part of the French revolution; when Robespierre was in full sway, and the island teemed with French exiles: boats coming over daily from the opposite coast with fugitives, male and female; and no boat arrived without bringing accounts of fresh victims to the guillotine, frequently the husbands, brothers, fathers, or sisters of some of the unfortunate refugees who watched the arrivals from France.

I remember a pretty, engaging Frenchwoman; one of the numerous female refugees whom we had in the island at that time, a Marquise, who was in the society of the officers' ladies of the Connaught Rangers or 88th Regiment. One of the boats which arrived from Granville, among other accounts of a deplorable nature, brought that of the death of this lady's husband, who had fallen by the guillotine. On first hearing the sad tidings, the grief of the Marquise was excessive; she was inconsolable. The ladies of our officers, uninvited, went to her lodging; and some of them

remained constantly with her. At this time the Lieut.-Governor was about to give a grand ball to all the fashionables of the island, to the military, and to the chief of the French refugees. Some time before receiving the account of her husband having been guillotined, the Marquise had received a card of invitation from the Governor, and had accepted the invitation. She not a little astonished the ladies who visited her for consolation, by asking them on the third day after she had received accounts of the Marquis being guillotined, "if it would be proper for her to go to the Governor's ball in mourning."

At this time typhus fever prevailed to some extent in the 88th Regiment. It may be said to have been a prevalent disease in the army, more especially in all the new levies. We carried much of this formidable disease with us from Chatham, where it was prevalent and fatal in a high degree. The 88th Regiment soon became overwhelmed with it in Jersey.

The loss to the British army from this disease during the first year of the war must have amounted to some thousands. The treatment of it at that time differed much from that now pursued. At length I was attacked with the disease myself, and had it in its severest form. I had abundance of medical attendance, for my friend Dr. Jackson, with all the medical officers in Jersey, visited me. I was for several days insensible, and the earliest thing I recollected was

great soreness from blisters, which had been applied to my head, neck, and legs, together with great prostration of strength. I was on the most friendly terms with every officer in the corps; and a great favourite with the soldiers, which was evinced by one incident that strongly affected me. My extreme state of debility continuing, and convalescence being slow, it was determined by my medical friends who attended me, that I should be removed from my lodgings at St. Helier's into the country. Quarters were accordingly engaged for me about a mile out of town. A difficulty, however, arose as to how I should be removed; for my debility was extreme. I was not only still confined to my bed, but unable to move in bed without the assistance of my servant and an orderly, who both slept in the room where I lay; one of them sitting up in turn. At length it was determined that I should be placed at my length in a kind of case, with a framework made to hold my bedding. The soldiers, however, hearing of this, said they could carry me in the framework much more easily than I could be drawn; and they expressed so much solicitude to carry "the doctor," that their plan was acceded to, and I was carried by them to my new abode in the country; the poor fellows exerting themselves to do so with the most ease to me.

In my country residence, I was daily gaining strength, and had begun to sit up in an arm-chair, when an order arrived from England for the corps to embark for Ostend.

I was anything but fit to proceed on service; and it was decided that I should remain in Jersey with some sick officers, and I believe upwards of 100 men, unable to proceed, and unfit for duty. This occasioned me much distress, my desire to accompany the regiment being unconquerable; and at length, by entreaty, and feeling assured that if left behind I should die, Colonel Keppel was prevailed upon to permit my embarkation with the regiment, although from the state I was in, it was plain I could be of no service as a medical officer for a long time to come. However, I was carried on board one of the transports, and from that day, what from sea air, and the excitement of going on actual service, I daily gained strength in an extraordinary degree; so much so, that one day when all the transports of our little fleet were becalmed, and when the officers in the different small vessels were visiting each other, I accompanied three of the officers in our transport on their visit to another transport. During this visit an occurrence took place that made us repent paying it, and determined me for ever after to confine my visiting to *terra firma*. It was no other than while we were at dinner with our friends in their cabin, the alarm was given that the ship was on fire. We all jumped up from table, and ran upon deck, where everything was confusion. About 150 soldiers who were on board with their wives and children, ran upon deck, the latter all screaming. A volume of smoke was seen issuing from the steerage,

the place where the sailors slept. Our captain, who was not gifted with much presence of mind, exclaimed we should all be in eternity in less than five minutes, for his powder was immediately under the place whence the smoke came. This intelligence startled us all. The soldiers instantly ran to the sides of the ship, many of them to cling on outside, and not a few went to the rigging. While the utmost state of confusion prevailed on board, the mate of the vessel,—an undaunted and rough, though a most shrewd fellow—threw himself down the place whence the smoke issued. In an instant after, he threw up blankets, pillows, and flock mattresses, all smoking; indeed, some of them ignited. He then shouted for buckets of water to be handed down to him as speedily as possible, which was done by the sailors. He then led up a sailor in a state of stupefaction. It appeared that this man, after coming off his watch, had lain over his berth, taken a pipe with him, and smoked till he fell asleep. The lighted pipe, as it would appear, had fallen out of his mouth upon some straw when he fell asleep; which, when lighted, had set the blankets and all the furniture of the bed in a state of combustion; and no doubt, when the whole got into this state, the volume of smoke in his confined berth brought on a state of stupor, and would in no long time have proved fatal to him. On examination, we found the lower wooden part of the berth quite warm underneath; and at no great distance was

the small magazine of powder of the vessel. This evinced the awful situation every soul on board would have been in, if they had not been rescued by the mate's timely presence of mind. While this was going on; a cry ran through the soldiers that every one should save himself by going overboard, and all those who could swim were casting off their clothes for that purpose; but the officers went among the men, and by their exertions prevented them from leaping overboard. The confusion on board was seen by all the vessels of our convoy, which were pretty close together, and we hoisted signals of distress; but as those in the vessels saw the ship was on fire, they thought it possible she would blow up; therefore, instead of sending boats to our assistance, all the transports sheered off from us, fearful of the effects of our blowing up upon themselves.

We were in the situation of the hunted stag, deserted by his friends when he was closely pursued by the hounds. A considerable time elapsed before order could be restored on board: we then prepared to return to our own vessel, all of us resolved never again to pay visits at sea. Before our departure, along with our brother officers on board, we agreed to make a handsome present to the intrepid mate of the vessel.

After rather a long passage, we went up the Scheldt, passing Flushing, to Bergen-op-Zoom, where we landed. I had perfectly recovered from the very debilitated state

in which I embarked. At the time of our landing, there was a strong garrison in Bergen-op-Zoom; for from the rapid progress of the French under Pichegru, it was expected they would soon besiege the place. The garrison consisted of Dutch and Nassau troops, French emigrant corps, Germans, and two British regiments, the 87th and 88th. Indeed the 87th, or Irish heroes as they termed themselves, came in from the army soon after our landing, and a curious spectacle they presented. They were a fine body of men, but most unsoldier-like to behold; for although the majority of them had muskets, they were without accoutrements, and the usual kit of soldiers; and so soiled and dirtied were their coats, that it was difficult to discover they had ever been of a scarlet colour. The fact was, this unformed corps was hurried from Dublin, where they were raised, to the scene of action; and their irregularities rendered them more formidable to their friends than to their enemies. They were sent from the army into garrison.

At this time, the head-quarters of the British army were near Breda; which was then besieged by the enemy, and we could daily distinctly hear the roar of the cannon at the siege.

The typhus fever, which raged in the 88th both at Chatham and Jersey, had become extinct before we embarked, but here it again broke out with increased violence. In a short time I had no less than 100 cases

of it in hospital; and the sick of the regiment, amounting altogether to not less than 200, Mr. Nicol, my assistant, and I, were overwhelmed with work.

The other British regiment in garrison at Bergen-op-Zoom suffered not less severely than the Connaught Rangers, from the fatal fever which committed so great havock. After occupying every place that could be obtained through the magistrates, for the accommodation of our daily overwhelming increase of sick; we were obliged to seize on every vacant place that could be discovered. One day, I espied a Calvinistic chapel; I then got a sergeant's guard, and while the congregation were engaged in the afternoon service, made the sergeant place two sentries at each door. When the congregation dispersed, we took possession of the church. The minister, a very aged man, with his elders, first remonstrated with me, then entreated; and at length in great wrath denounced my proceedings. After this, our sickness increased; our mortality was frightful; and both myself and my only assistant Mr. Nicol became severely ill: and when ill, I could not get the aged clergyman, with his snow-white locks and imploring attitude, from before my eyes.

The enemy now seemed in earnest in their attempts against Bergen-op-Zoom. The army which environed us was greatly increased in force, and our foraging parties were frequently attacked and driven in. One morning, when we were exercising on our regimental

parade ground, in one of the bastions; a strong party of French cavalry followed our foragers to the gates of the fortress; but we opened a fire upon them from the batteries, which made them scamper off in fine style. About this time, Lieutenant Popham of the navy, afterwards the renowned Sir Home Popham, appeared in Bergen-op-Zoom; and in a very dark night, conveyed the 88th regiment from Bergen-op-Zoom to transports in the Scheldt, where on the following morning we found ourselves opposite to Williamstadt. We were afterwards landed at Bomell, and marched to Nimeguen, then about to be besieged by the enemy. On our arrival opposite the town, and on the banks of the Waal, a branch of the Rhine, we were met by our first Lieut.-Colonel, Brownrigge, with his Royal Highness the Duke of York, to whom Brownrigge was then military secretary. The regiment was drawn up; and the Duke reviewed us. Along with the other officers of the corps, I had the honour of being presented to him. He held some conversation with me; and it is remarkable, that when I was at his levee at the Horse Guards, upwards of twenty years afterwards, with the extraordinary memory characteristic of every member of his family, he referred to that conversation.

Nimeguen was at this time invested by the enemy, and the Connaught Rangers were marched into town to form a part of the garrison; which was composed mostly of English troops, although we had some Dutch and Austrian corps with us. The scene was now a most

enlivening one from the rencontres which parties of our cavalry had with the enemy; and which we witnessed with much interest from the walls. Day after day, and as the enemy advanced their approaches, the interest increased. At length the place was completely invested by the enemy, from one side of the river to the other, in the form of a crescent; the two extremities of which ended at the flying bridge. The surgeon of the 78th Highlanders being ill, I had to take care of the wounded of the 78th, as well as those of the 88th Regiment. When it was nearly dark, the sortie parties from each corps were collected together, and formed with their officers. At this time a heavy cannonade was opened on the working parties of the enemy, in their first parallel, now nearly completed. Under the cover of our cannonade, a party of our cavalry sallied out, advanced at a quick trot, and I could see them in a few minutes in the midst of the enemy's working parties, many of whom fled, but the greater part continued a fire. Our storming party of infantry was but a short time getting there, and now commenced a heavy fire, which appeared in a little time to be general. It soon became quite dark; but although the fire of musketry was mostly in the quarter where our storming party attacked, we heard a general firing from every part of the crescent, coming it was said from 60,000 muskets; and the cannonade came from every part of the line, arising as I suppose, from their ignorance, in the dark, that we had only attacked on one point. In a dark night, the whole horizon was

lighted up by the firing. I ought to have stated, that after our infantry with the cavalry had followed the enemy out of their intrenchments, we could see a party of our pioneers, who accompanied them, busy with shovels and other tools levelling the works the enemy had constructed.

By and by, at my hospital (a church), where I was in readiness to receive the wounded of the 78th and 88th many poor fellows were led or carried in to me,—some of them mortally wounded, and several officers; among them a Captain Monro of the 78th. I went to his billet to visit him; his vision was destroyed by a wound in the head. By eleven o'clock, the sortie party returned; but a very heavy fire was kept up throughout the night. The injury we had done to the advanced works of the enemy did not appear to have been considerable; for we could see from the walls that it was soon repaired, and they were at another parallel. The scene now became a most animated one. An immense French force hemmed us in daily closer and closer. The cannonade from the walls became constantly heavier, as we endeavoured to annoy them in advancing their second parallel. Their shot at length took effect on many parts of the town, and in some streets the houses were seen completely riddled. The large church, in which my sick and wounded, with those of other corps were placed, was not spared; although an hospital flag was displayed on the steeple. While engaged in dress-

ing the wounded, I saw several cannon shot go through the walls, and some shells burst into the church. I had, therefore, to remove the men from the gable end of the large church which was most exposed to shot, to another part of the building.

At last matters approached a crisis; and one night (a very dark one) the 88th Regiment took the duty outside the wall. We went out very softly by one of the gates, and relieved another corps. While we quietly lay down, we could hear the enemy hard at their works, at no great distance from us. It was whispered about, that we were that night to evacuate Nimeguen, and we soon heard different corps filing off, and passing the bridge. A communication was sent to our colonel to hold us in readiness to leave our post quietly, and march off by the bridge, but not to move till we got a second communication. After waiting a considerable time, and until it appeared to us that most of the corps must have left the town, Colonel Keppel sent in an officer to report our situation, and to receive orders. Although this officer could have been at the general's house in a few minutes, I believe an hour and a half elapsed, and he returned not. As we did not now hear any more of our troops passing the bridge, our situation appeared to us critical. We thought that we had either been forgotten, or that the officer sent had been killed on his way to the town; for all night long a heavy cannonade of shot and shell was kept up against the walls

and buildings in the town. Most of the shot and shell went over our heads, although occasionally they fell close to us. In this situation, Colonel Keppel called all the officers together for consultation. It was observed, that being half-past two o'clock in the morning, the moon would rise in half an hour, discover our situation to the enemy, and render an escape by the bridge impracticable. It was therefore decided that another officer should be sent to the general in command in the town; and it was agreed that, if he did not return, in order that our colours might not fall into the hands of the enemy, they should be burned on the spot; for which purpose we immediately removed them from the staff. While this was doing, the officer last sent, returned with orders for Colonel Keppel to file off his men immediately, and to get off by the bridge with all possible expedition; but with the utmost silence: for we were so near the enemy, that any extraordinary noise would discover us to them. Off therefore we immediately moved, and the officers exerted themselves to make all as still as possible, for on this depended our safety. When I came to the Nimeguen extremity of the bridge of boats, I found an officer who ordered me to leave my horse, as the tramp of horses would make a noise to discover us. I had travelled much with mine, and entreated I might be permitted to retain him, for he had been my companion on many a wearisome journey. This was strongly objected to by the officer, who told me I should

bring a fire on the battalion. While I was considering what I should do, a drummer came up to me and whispered that if I left the matter to him, he could bring my horse over quietly, after the battalion crossed the bridge; as other horses were then coming over. I readily assented to this. All had hitherto been darkness; but as we were crossing the bridge, the moon began to rise. By the time the animals and batt-horses and baggage which followed us had passed, the moon shone bright, the noise of their passing was considerable, and a very heavy fire from several batteries was opened on the bridge by the enemy. On the other side of the bridge, we were anxious lookers on; at length, one of the centre boats which formed the bridge was detached, and swung round. Measures were taken by the engineers to repair this, and continue the communication; but the enemy's fire redoubled. By the time daylight broke in upon us, the centre of the bridge was demolished. We were marched off towards Arnheim, where we halted for several days.

The allies had for some time been losing ground daily. After this our pursuit by the French became rather a hot one. Our troops, raw, and composed in a great measure of new levies, gave way under the harassing marches, bad quarters, and the toil to which they were exposed. They not unfrequently committed excesses, and outrage, on the inhabitants; and no small animosity existed between them. The Dutch, wishing

for the advance of our pursuers, afforded them, as it was said, frequent aid. Disease, particularly typhus fever, became general. Our hospitals were filled to overflowing; and the mortality among the medical officers in particular was great. At length, I myself was attacked by fever, and as our retreat was now rapid, I was hurried to some distance, to Embden.

The want of system in our hospitals, and the inexperience of medical officers in the duties in which in after years they became so expert, were at this time very striking.

Captain Maconnochie of the 88th Regiment, who, like myself, was very ill, got a spring waggon for our accommodation; and in the middle of a severe winter we journeyed through North Holland. By the time Captain Maconnochie and I reached Embden, we had greatly revived. At Embden, a Prussian town, we found several British officers, who like ourselves had been sent there sick from the army. The 40th Regiment was there, I believe, for the protection of a small hospital establishment. Having recovered our health, Maconnochie and I returned to the army, and found the head-quarters of General Abercromby, then in command, at Bentheim. The army had a halt here, but it was a short one. Our march through North Holland was a rapid one, closely pursued by the enemy, and disease continued to make great ravages. The strongest, worn down by harassing fatigues, succumbed daily, and thinned our ranks. In the extreme cold, the

soldiers lay down in the snow by the road-side, overpowered with drowsiness, and all the entreaties of the officers could not make them move on.

One night we had a farm-house allotted to us as the quarters of some companies of the regiment. We arrived wet and fatigued, having travelled through a country flooded with water. The farm-house and outhouses could barely contain the diminished number to which we were now reduced; space for lying down horizontally was out of the question. There were two officers besides myself. We wanted a separate apartment; one was locked, the other we found occupied by a numerous family, of which several were females. We demanded the key of the locked apartment; the people were obstinately silent, but we insisted on having it; and all of them, the women in particular, evincing the utmost grief, entreated the soldiers to desist from breaking it open, which our men were about to do with their muskets. At last the door flew open; and we found cause for their grief and entreaties. The mother of the farmer, and grandmother of the numerous family which surrounded us, lay a corpse in a bed in the wall. In a short time, the corpse was removed; we took possession of the apartment, and soon after partook of our scanty meal. I felt excessively fatigued, and soon, without undressing, got into the bed from which the corpse of the old woman had been taken, for it was the only bed in the room. It was nevertheless

a very capacious one; and two more of the officers got into it afterwards, likewise with their clothes on. The order in the army had been for some time, that all should go to rest in this manner, with their arms beside them, to obviate surprise; as we were often called upon to get up suddenly by alarms. When the drum beat to arms at a very early hour in the morning, I felt very ill; my limbs benumbed, and with a deadly faintness. I was sensible at once that I had got the deadly typhus, which had so thinned our ranks. When all were preparing to march, I found myself unable to move: the officers entreated me to get up, and stated that the enemy were close upon us. I begged they would leave me with my servant to become prisoners. By this time my friend Maconnochie had learned my situation; he came to me, and implored me to endeavour to get up. He told me that in revenge for burning so many of their houses and outhouses, which in the very inclement weather we were obliged to pull to pieces for firewood, the country people had cut the throats of many officers and men, the moment the troops had set out from their quarters, and before the French could come in to take possession of prisoners. This had an effect on me. I raised myself in bed, and with the assistance of Captain Maconnochie and my servant, I got up; but when placed in a chair, I felt deadly sick and faint, and again entreated they would leave me to my fate; for, feeling much giddiness, I thought I should soon be insen-

sible to everything, and that all would soon be over. My kind friend did not heed my entreaties, but carried me out, and placed me on my horse. It was immediately found that I could not keep my seat. Captain Maconnochie then placed me across my horse, with one soldier supporting my head, another my feet, and several of the poor fellows voluntarily came forward to relieve each other. Awful as my position was, I found that after remaining in the open air I had revived a good deal since starting.

In the course of the day, passing a farm-house, they took possession of a cart, filled it with straw, placed me on it, and in this way I was moved on for two days by a draught horse; but of what passed in that time I soon lost all recollection. I afterwards learned that I had been delirious. My first return of consciousness was several days after; when, on awaking, I looked round for some time, and found myself lying in a mud-walled apartment, upon a truckle bedstead. I felt my shirt very wet about the neck and breast, and saw that it was clotted with something brown, like mud. While I was straining my recollection, and endeavouring to distinguish where I was, my servant entered; and without noticing me, raised my head, and forcibly emptied into my mouth (for I had no strength for resistance) a cup of something brown, which was very distasteful. I cried much; spoke to the man, and asked where I was. He told me that I had been carried forward in a cart,

that two other officers had been brought to the same house where I was, and were at the same time ill of the fever, and delirious, like myself; that he had been left with me, and provided with a quantity of bark and port wine, which he had been directed to thrust down my throat from time to time. This then was the brown plastered stuff which made me so wet and uncomfortable about the chest. I felt hungry, and demanded something to eat; which was brought to me by the kind old farmer and his wife, in whose house I was, who were delighted to see me sensible, and calling for food. In a little time I inquired who the two officers were who had been brought to the house at the same time with myself, and found they were two of my friends; one a captain of artillery, and the other a medical officer. On my inquiring after them, my servant made me no answer, but walked out. On his return I repeated my question, and was anxiously curious to know their fate, which I began by this time to suspect. My servant pointed to an apartment opposite, and then told me they were there, corpses, since two days; and that they would have buried them, but that the ground was too hard from the severe frost to be broken up.

The quarter I was in was a miserable and cold hovel; but my aged host and hostess were most kindly attentive to me, as was my warm-hearted Irish servant. I learned that the army had nearly all embarked at Brielle, a port near at hand, so near, that if I could be

got out, I might see the masts of the transports from a hillock near the farm-house. My desire to see these, and to get off with the embarking army, was excessive. They told me that if on the following day I had strength for it, I should be carried out and see the masts of the vessels.

On the following day, my ancient host brought a wheel-barrow into my apartment, stuffed with straw and blankets; on this I was placed by my host, hostess, and servant, and wheeled out in front of the house to a small eminence, where they told me if I could be made to stand up I would see the masts of the ships. I found it, however, impossible to be lifted up in an erect posture. Any attempt they made induced sickness and faintness, although they repeatedly gave me wine. I endeavoured to get on my knees, but all would not do, and I was re-wheeled into the house, got to bed, and had a long and sound sleep; from which I awoke refreshed, and gave orders for my movement to the vessels on the following day.

On the following day my kind old host provided a cart and horse for me. It was well stuffed with straw and blankets, on which I was placed, and conveyed to the port where the shipping lay. On the way, I saw my horses, which I was obliged to leave behind me, grazing in a field by the road-side.

When we got the cart to the place of embarkation,

my servant found out the name of the vessel in which the head-quarters of the 88th Regiment were embarked, and which was to sail on the following day. The transport lay at a long distance from the shore, and several boatmen thronged round us, offering to carry me on board; but their demands were most exorbitant, indeed beyond the money I had about me. I was much fretted at this, when a Naval officer observing me in a very helpless state in the cart, and inquiring about me from my servant, ordered those ruthless fellows off, and went and brought a man-of-war's boat crew to me. When the boatmen saw this, they abated at first one half, then to a fourth of their original demand, but the officer beat them off with his sword. The seamen carried me very gently on their arms from the cart, into a boat, where I was laid flat on my back, upon straw and blankets, which were spread gently under me. When we reached the vessel, which was a long way from the shore, I was placed in a chair, and hauled upon deck by pulleys. Arrived on the deck of the vessel where my regiment was embarked, I was instantly surrounded by my friends, who were much shocked to observe my miserable, and as they afterwards told me, my death-like appearance. Indeed, they never expected to have seen me again. I know not from whom I received the kindest attention on my getting on board, from the officers, or the men. They carried me below to a bed in

the cabin, which was speedily prepared for me. At sea, I gained appetite and strength wonderfully; and by the time we cast anchor at Yarmouth, I was able to come on deck; and we now enjoyed, what had for some time been unknown to us, English wheaten bread, butter, and milk, with tea and sugar.

CHAP. III.

The Connaught Rangers at Norwich.—French revolutionary Sympathies.—Appointed Superintendant Surgeon of the Hospitals.—Connaught Rangers at Chelmsford.—At Southampton.—First Interviews with Colonel Beresford.—Altercation.—Reconciliation.—Expedition to the West Indies.—Disasters to Admiral Christian's Fleet.—Arrival at Barbadoes.—Insurrection at Grenada.—Shipwrecked.—Capture of Fort in Grenada.—Personal Illness.—Re-capture of Grenada.—Executions.—Yellow Fever.

THE regiment disembarked at Harwich. I proceeded in a post-chaise with my old friend Maconnochie, the first stage, to Ipswich; and in the evening after the arrival of the regiment, we dined at the head inn.

By the time the regiment reached Norwich, I had nearly recovered from my extremely debilitated state; and it was well I got into health, for a very heavy press of duty soon devolved upon me. Several of the other regiments returned also from the continent, and of these, the 53rd, the 2nd Dragoon Guards, and others, were sent to Norwich; which had a very strong garrison; on account, I believe, of the very turbulent state of the population. At this period, the revolutionary feeling had found its way from France to England, and in no

place was the admiration of what had been effected in France, together with the spirit of republicanism, greater than in Norwich.

On our first arrival, the officers could hardly appear in the streets without insult from the populace. At night, if they went out, they were knocked down; and attempts were even made to sow disaffection among the soldiers. Desertions became frequent, and at length so numerous, that it was no unusual occurrence for twenty or thirty men of the garrison to desert in a night. We found that there was a society in Norwich for the encouragement of desertion. It was amply supplied with funds, and the members of this society secreted the soldiers, provided them with coloured clothes and money, and then despatched them to their respective homes. In the meantime, typhus fever broke out in every regiment in the garrison, and committed dreadful havock. A large building was hired for the reception of the worst cases, which were sent thither from each corps; and as senior surgeon, I received the order of the Medical Board to assume the superintendance of the whole, and to take orders from General Johnstone, who commanded the troops in garrison at Norwich.

At this time my esteemed friend, the late Sir John Webb, who was then assistant surgeon of the 53rd Regiment, officiated under me on my first appointment as acting on the staff. Some time after, Sir Joseph Gilpin, Physician to the Forces, with two hospital mates, one

of them the late Dr. M'Neal, arrived; and Sir Joseph retained me in the superintendance. In course of time, and after the soldiers had had many encounters with the townspeople, we got the mastery of the democrats and levellers, as they were then called; and an association of respectable tradesmen was formed against republicanism.

The regiment having attained some degree of health, and our numbers having been recruited from Ireland, we got an order to march to Chelmsford. On the order for the march of the Connaught Rangers reaching us, my acting appointment on the staff for the superintendance of the hospitals in Norwich, ceased, and I was succeeded in it by the late Sir John Webb, as senior regimental surgeon of the garrison. I can now bring to my recollection, that it was with no small degree of mortification I felt the loss of my brief authority; although, when appointed, I knew that my command was but temporary. Arrived at Chelmsford, where we found two other regiments, we learned that an expedition was to be formed for the West Indies, and for the capture of the French West India Islands, under General Abercromby; of which we were to form a part. After a short interval, we were marched to the neighbourhood of Southampton, where we found a large army encamped, preparing for embarkation.

The 88th, was under a new commanding officer, Lieut.-Colonel Beresford, afterwards Field-Marshal Beresford,

who became one of the ablest and most distinguished officers of the British army.

With the constant arrival of recruits, not in the cleanest state, accompanied with numerous families, I saw the probability of the reappearance of an old enemy —the typhus, from the habitual drunkenness and other irregularities of the men. There was much fever prevalent, which I foresaw would degenerate into typhus, and I did everything to keep the hospital sweet and well ventilated. I think that I succeeded, for its clean and cheerful appearance attracted the notice of all the officers.

From the hour the new Colonel arrived to take the command of the regiment, his temper appeared bitter, and his conduct harsh: he was perhaps dissatisfied with the state in which he found the regiment. On his arrival, he found the hospital full, and many sick in barracks. By his order, I waited upon him every morning with a report of the sick of the corps. He was always discontented with it. One morning, when I found the Adjutant and Quarter-master of the regiment with him, he appeared unusually out of humour. He neither noticed the bow I made on my entrance, nor desired me to be seated. After remaining standing for a few minutes, I helped myself to a chair, and sat down. Soon after, he took the sick report out of my hand, and perusing it, said, "This state of things must not continue; I will not have such a number of sick in my regiment, and I am sure the greater part of

them are not sick." I felt strongly at that moment the contrast between him and my former commanding officer. I was much moved, and said in reply, that "it was not my fault there were so many sick in the 88th Regiment; all I could do, was to cure them as fast as I could;" and, as to not one half of them being sick, I affirmed that every one in the report in his hand, was sick. In the sharpest manner, and with an oath, he said they could not be; and that malingerers deceived me. I, as positively, and in warm terms, denied this; and I added, that so long as the regiment continued in its present state, the sick would increase, and they would soon be doubled. He asked what I meant. I said that the irregularities which prevailed would occasion an increase, and from the filthy state of the temporary barracks, which at the same time were not weather proof, they were a nursery for disease. He desired me to make good my words; and, hurrying out with the Quarter-master and Adjutant, he went through all the barracks, cooking-houses, &c., making a minute survey of each, loudly and angrily calling as he passed through each, for the officers of each company; and giving no small portion of abuse to most of them, for not having strictly reported the state of things. When, after two hours of this unpleasant duty, he had gone through the whole, I begged that he would now accompany me, and see the only place over which I had jurisdiction—the hospital. He passed in silence through the different

wards, but this I felt I could not permit; I called upon him to say if he found fault with the condition of things here. He confessed he could not. He did more; for when he went out, he desired the officers commanding companies to go in, as he had done, and view the comfort men could be placed in, and mark the contrast. Still he did not express himself satisfied, and I fancy he felt my discontented, cool manner towards him; and on the following day, when the regiment was on parade, he sent a sergeant for me. I was at the hospital, and proceeded to him immediately. In the front of the regiment, he demanded the reason why I chose to absent myself from parade. I told him there was an assistant surgeon present, and that I was employed in what I considered more important duty, viz. attending the sick in hospital; which duty occupied me some hours morning and evening, and, further, that the rest of the day was occupied in visiting the numerous sick in barracks, viz. the women, children, and officers. He told me it was his order that the surgeon should always be present at parade. I bowed obedience.

Seeing the different kind of life I was likely to lead under such a man, I determined in my own mind to quit the regiment; and with this view I wrote to Mr. Macdonald, our agent, to procure an exchange for me into any other corps; and that to accomplish this, I was ready to pay a moderate sum of money to any officer who would exchange with me.

Charles (see p. 1.)

About this time, my brother, then a lieutenant in the 90th regiment, who had just landed at Portsmouth from America, came to visit me. He was most kindly received by my friends, the officers, and was my guest at the mess. To him, as well as to some officers of the corps, I had communicated my determination to leave the regiment. The officers all warmly regretted the decision I had come to; but as the circumstances which led to it were generally known, they could say little to dissuade me. At any rate my resolution was taken. A few days after my brother had joined me, when the officers were walking and talking together, before parade, the Colonel called me to him, and I joined him in his walk. He observed: "Your brother is a very fine young man, and I should much like to have him in the regiment. I am sure, that will gratify you, and I shall be happy to do anything to afford you pleasure." I thanked him; but said that would not gratify me, for I was about to quit the regiment. He appeared struck; and with surprise said, "he hoped not." I told him that I was now in negotiation, through the agent, to exchange into another corps. He asked what regiment? I replied "I did not know, and did not care; any regiment; for I was sure my exertions would be better appreciated in any other; and that I was sure he must know I could not but feel what had passed since he had assumed the command of the 88th." Nothing further passed; but in an hour or two after he sent for me to

his quarters, took me by the hand on entering, and expressed his sorrow, if, in the dissatisfaction he felt at the state in which he found the corps on his joining, he had spoken warmly to me, for that really my department of it was the only one of which he could say anything favourable, and that he had so reported to the Horse Guards. In short we became friends, warm friends, and continued so ever after.

At length the embarkation of the army commenced. The 88th, was marched to Portsmouth, and went on board the Jamaica, a fine West-Indiaman. We were daily receiving recruits; a portion of them from some of the young levies which were drafted into the embarking corps. It had been determined that one of these (which I forget) should be drafted into the 88th, and into two other regiments; and one morning after breakfast, as I was writing on board the Jamaica—then lying at the Motherbank amidst a crowd of transports—an order arrived from head-quarters to the Colonel, to send the surgeon of the 88th Regiment on board a transport, to inspect the men; and that he was to return on board with those approved for the 88th Regiment. The commanding officer of this levy brought this order with him, and I had to accompany him and his adjutant to the transport, which was at anchor in the harbour near the shore. I merely exchanged the slippers I had on for a pair of boots, put a boat cloak over my shoulders, and jumped into the boat alongside; intending to have

got back in the evening, and therefore, without taking leave of my brother (then an officer in the 88th), or of any officer on board: little thinking that so long a time would elapse before I should again see my friends. After a long and heavy pull, the boat came alongside the transport with the new levy; which I found to be composed of very indifferent materials. It was very late in the day, and nearly dark, before I concluded this duty. There being a heavy sea on, and the wind against me, the commanding officer of the levy represented the impossibility of my being able to regain my own ship that night, and kindly invited me to dine with him, and take a shake down at his lodgings, where his lady and family were; for so crowded was Portsmouth then, with the great fleet, and the army embarking, that a bed was not to be had for money. I readily assented to this, accompanied him ashore, and dined and spent the evening pleasantly with him and his lady.

I got a shake-down in the dining-room of my kind host; but by daybreak in the morning was awakened by a firing of great guns in several directions. It signalised the sailing of the fleet. I should have said that, at this time, there were two large fleets of transports and men of war at Portsmouth; one of upwards of 200 sail for the Mediterranean, and the other of 500 for the West Indies. The signals now made, were for the former; but this not being generally understood, much

confusion ensued; so that a great many of the transports for the West Indies got under way, in the belief also, that the signal was for us. Accompanied by the adjutant and a subaltern of the drafted levy, I proceeded in a sloop we hired, to the transport, for the drafted men for the 88th; but I found that, during the night, all had deserted; with the exception of a few lame men, who were unable to effect their escape. Nevertheless, I then decided to proceed to the Jamaica, and the two officers kindly accompanied me. On setting sail, amidst much confusion, we observed, as we thought, the whole fleet getting under way. On proceeding further, we saw many sail ahead of us. We hailed several, to know if it was the Jamaica, and if it had the 88th on board. Failing in our inquiries, and nearly at the Needles, the extremity of the Isle of Wight, on hailing a vessel, I found it was the Betsey, with the headquarters of the 48th Regiment, proceeding to Barbadoes. I therefore went on board, and requested they would let me remain till I found out my own ship, the Jamaica.

On my getting on board, being a stranger to all the officers, I told my tale; and, I fancy, I made an odd figure, without a particle of baggage, and in the clothes I had slept in, the night before. I was kindly received, and most hospitably treated by the 48th, in the Betsey; but on the following day no Jamaica was to be seen. Indeed, very few ships were in sight, and they were much ahead of us. We crowded sail; but, although

the Betsey was a fast sailer, we did not come up with any of them. I became at length reconciled to remain where I was, although without clothes; for one officer supplied me with some of his shirts, another with stockings, and so on with all the articles of dress, insomuch, that from all together, I had a small kit made up for me. It happened, moreover, that, by the sudden sailing of the Betsey, two field officers and two captains were left behind; I thus got the cabin of Colonel Malcolm, and was most comfortably lodged during the voyage. It was a very short one—the wind and everything proving favourable; while the society was very pleasant, as it included the late Lieut.-General Sir George Airey, then Captain Airey, Colonel Toneyn, then Captain Toneyn, 48th, and my friend Mr. Holland, surgeon 48th, and several other officers. I believe we effected our passage in about six weeks; but our surprise was great, when we came in sight of Carlisle Bay, Barbadoes, not to see, as we expected, the whole of the fleet there before us. We now thought they had proceeded on the object of the expedition against the different French islands; for hardly a mast was to be seen in the harbour. The truth was, the Betsey was the only transport of the West India expedition that had arrived, and, as was afterwards ascertained, the signal on the morning of our departure was meant for the 200 vessels, and convoy of men of war of the fleet proceeding to the Mediterranean; and when the general confusion

from the signal firing occurred, and almost every vessel was getting under way, all the frigates of the fleet were sent after the West Indiamen, which had sailed, and brought back every one of them, but the Betsey. Fortunate it had been, if all the West India armament had sailed at the same time; for then they would have had, as we had, fine weather and a short voyage; and would have been speedily enabled to reduce the French islands. As is well known; the West India armament did not put to sea for some time after we sailed, when the weather became most boisterous, and the wind unfavourable; and Admiral Christian's fleet was dispersed, and many vessels wrecked off the Isle of Portland, soon after sailing. Not a vessel of the West India fleet came in for a fortnight after our arrival. Then, ship after ship came in, and with surprise found us at Barbadoes; till at length the whole fleet arrived. We then learned that one of the transports with the 88th had been obliged to put in at Gibraltar, and that the head-quarter ship, the Jamaica, in which I was to have sailed, and in which I left all my baggage and clothes, had been captured a few days after sailing by the Tribune, French frigate, and carried into Brest.

I subsequently learned from the officers of the 88th, who arrived in the only transport which reached the West Indies, with a part of the corps, that on my not returning with the draft for the 88th on the evening I left her at the Motherbank, nor on the following day,

that it blew tremendously hard; and consequently all the officers, particularly my brother, who was on board, became alarmed for my safety. On the third day my brother went on shore to inquire after me, but could obtain no tidings—the officers of the drafted corps having left Portsmouth. It appears, that on the day of great confusion, when the whole fleet at Portsmouth was getting under way, an officer, in attempting to pass from one transport to another, had been crushed to death, and that his body at once sunk. From the description, I was supposed to have been the officer; and on this information reaching my brother, he sent all my clothes and baggage on shore. There was so little doubt of my death, that another officer-surgeon (Hamilton), from the Glasgow regiment, was put in my place, and soon gazetted.

What strange events occur, and how wonderful are the dispensations of an all-wise and gracious Providence! By what was thought my great misfortune and death, and although I proceeded without clothes or any preparation to a tropical region,—pregnant with disease of a most fatal character, I escaped capture by the French, and the loss of all my baggage, besides being thrown into a French prison, like my brother-officers, who were most harshly treated, and received but a scanty portion of bad provisions. As I have said, the Jamaica was captured in the channel, by the Tribune, French frigate. This was at the hottest

period of the French revolution, when Robespierre reigned triumphant in massacre and in blood.

The composition of the French army, and still more of their navy, was of the worst description. The captain of the Tribune was one of these worthies. When the Jamaica transport was captured, and the officers brought to the quarter-deck of the Tribune, their pockets were publicly rifled, and their purses, watches, and everything of value removed *sans cérémonie.* They were scoffed at, insulted, and even buffeted by the French officers and men; and were lodged in a damp cellar as their jail. Many of the men sickened and died of disease and bad treatment. But in time, the officers were exchanged as prisoners of war, and sent to England; my brother among them.

Although separated from my corps at Barbadoes, I did not pass my time unpleasantly. Corps after corps duly arrived. I had hospital duty appointed to me by Mr. Young—the Inspector-General of hospitals,—whom I found a rigid officer, and a strict disciplinarian. Some of the corps, particularly the 56th, intended for St. Domingo, arrived overwhelmed with typhus, and a great mortality ensued. At the sale of the effects of some of the officers, who died of the prevailing fever; I got an equipment of clothes, in addition to what I had obtained from my kind friends of the 48th.

Accounts having reached Barbadoes of the frightful devastation committed by the brigands at Grenada

(where some time before, the Governor and twenty of the principal inhabitants had been shot in cold blood); and that now the blacks were in complete possession of the whole island, except Georgetown and Richmond Hill; it was determined immediately to send a force to that island.

It was speedily embarked in a man of war, and I was sent by Mr. Young with it as principal medical officer. The man of war was choke-full of us. We were sadly crowded; there was not room for all of us to lie down at one time, at night, to sleep; every floor and deck of the ship being crowded. However, the wind was favourable, and we had a short passage, and were all of us safely landed at St. George's. The greater part immediately marched to Richmond Hill, two miles distant, that being the only post in the island left in our possession. Our piquets were but a short distance from Richmond Hill, and frequently exchanged shots with the enemy. On Richmond Hill, we were sadly crowded. I was one of five officers, shut up in a bomb proof, which, at night, when we slept in our cots, was intolerably hot. At length, more troops arriving, we took possession of a post on the other side of the island, whither troops were sent from Barbadoes. In the mean time I got dysentery, which then prevailed among the troops. However, I was sent round with a part of the 25th Regiment, under the command of Colonel Dyott, afterwards General Dyott. It was in a small schooner, in which, the master of the

vessel was the only white man, all the sailors being blacks. Towards the evening, we came to anchor at one of the Grenadines, and all the officers landed and got refreshments at the hospitable house of a planter. We then went on board, and set sail for Madam Hook's Bay. While I kept watch, Colonel Dyott and some officers were fast asleep on the deck. Suddenly we received a terrible shock, which removed them all from their sleeping-places on the deck. They had not recovered their legs, when we had another shock; in short, the vessel had struck upon a reef of rocks. All was confusion: the captain lost all presence of mind; and cried out "we shall be in eternity in a few minutes." The black sailors attempted to get out the only boat we had—which was a small one. In cutting it away from amidships, where it was slung, one of them had his arm broken, and they desisted. Colonel Dyott however remonstrated with the captain, and brought him to his senses; he then ordered the few soldiers on board to lend their assistance, and to obey the captain's orders. It was now full daylight, and the vessel from time to time was thumping on the rock. We could now plainly see the shore—about two leagues distant. The Colonel made the soldiers fire their muskets from time to time, as signals of distress. At last we had the great delight to see that our situation was observed on the shore, and that several boats were pushing off from the vessels near the shore, to our aid. The doubt was, whether the

schooner would hold together till the boats could reach her; for she was now making much water rapidly. In the mean time, the sailors and soldiers together launched the boat over the side of the vessel, and instantly every one rushed into the boat. So many were in, that we were afraid she would sink, and certainly never could make the shore. Still, others were jumping in at this time, and the swords of several were drawn to prevent any more entering. A poor woman hung by the side of the vessel, and implored us to take her in, but our common safety steeled our hearts, and we pushed off without her. Indeed, we thought that the chance of life was fully equal for those we had left on board, to what it was for those in our boat, which was literally crammed; the sides and gunwales being quite level with the water. It required the utmost caution in steering, to keep the boat alive, and free of the surf, which beat on several rocks near us. Had not the weather been most favourable, and the sea perfectly calm, it would have been hopeless to have attempted rowing the distance we had to go. As we slowly and cautiously rowed on, our joy was great to see several boats coming up fast to us from the shore; for they saw the imminent danger the vessel was in, and feared, as they afterwards told us, that she would go down before they could reach us. One of the boats came up to us, and observing the dangerous crowded state our boat was in, took out the half of us.

We soon made the shore, and afterwards the several boats which put off to our rescue succeeded in landing every soul safely; but without a particle of our baggage. Before night, not a plank of the schooner was to be seen.

Our brother-officers of the detachment on shore received us most hospitably. I shared the tent of an old friend, who offered me likewise a share of his wardrobe. When we were at breakfast, in the morning, and while I was recounting the circumstances of our escape, a sergeant came to me with my portmanteau, which I never expected to have seen again. Indeed I never cast away a thought on it. It had been taken ashore by his wife, the identical woman whom with others we cut at, to prevent their coming into the boat. The honesty of this couple was great; for in my small trunk I had between one and two hundred dollars, which from their weight must have betrayed part of the contents of the portmanteau.

At length, one of the transports with the 88th Regiment, which had been driven into Gibraltar, reached Barbadoes; and was immediately after sent down to Grenada, to land the troops at a quarter of the island where it was intended military operations should be carried on against the insurgents. I immediately set off to join them, and the meeting with my old friends was most joyous. The detachment was commanded by Captain Vandeleur; and the surgeon who had been appointed when it was supposed that I was lost, was

with them. When I entered the encampment, I was first recognised by the soldiers, who shouted and came out of their tents, and in an extraordinary manner I was carried forward in triumph. The officers, aroused by the shouts of the men, also came out, and greeted me most warmly. I was, I believe, beloved by the soldiers; but I attribute the enthusiastic reception with which I was received by the men, quite as much to their dislike of my successor as to their love to me. He came out with the officers, but nothing could suppress the expression of their disapprobation of him; and I heard many of the men and women exclaim, "Now your master has come, go home as soon as you can."

As troops were successively sent out from Barbadoes, and two general officers, General Nicolls and Brigadier-General Campbell of the 29th, with them, preparations were made for commencing hostilities against the enemy. A staff was likewise appointed. Mr. Horn, the garrison-surgeon of Grenada, ought to have been the head of this; but although an old and estimable officer, he was at too advanced a period of life to take the field, and to perform the operations which were to be looked for. In consequence of this, as the senior regimental surgeon (after comparing dates with my friend Mr. Reynolds), I was put in orders as head of the medical staff; all reports from the medical officers were ordered to be made to me; and I was directed

to appoint an acting apothecary, and an acting purveyor to the army in the field.

In the morning after parade, the officers of the 88th were assembled; and we were informed that an attack was intended against a strong post of the enemy, and that the force intended for it was to be assembled at sunset, and march off as soon as it was dark, so as to surprise them if possible. The effect of this intelligence on the officers, I can never forget. The announcement was received with unbounded joy by all but one. He was at first silent, and then much depressed. Walking, by himself, he came into the mess-room where I sat with my legs dangling from the table, and in the joyous mood all were in, humming a tune. He said to me, "I would give the world to be in your mood." On my inquiring why he was cast down, he said, "If you had a wife and nine children dependent on the fate of to-morrow's dawn, you would be cast down at this time."

At sunset we were paraded, marched off, and by daylight exchanged some shots with the enemy, who retreated to a strong position on a hill. However, they left a strong party in a position below, which I suppose we did not discover till close upon them; when they opened a volley on us, which immediately brought down many, and thinned our ranks. We found that we were in an awkward position, for, undiscovered by us, we had pushed beyond a body of the enemy, which

now fired on us from our rear; and we were now actually almost surrounded. Major Houston endeavoured to bring off our men, and retreat in order; but this was impossible. As the men fell, or were wounded, the latter were brought to me under a tree. While employed in dressing their wounds, the situation being rather an exposed one, a gun was opened on it, and one shot killed two of the wounded close to where I stood. I felt something moist on my face. At the same time that I observed the two poor fellows dead, and terribly mangled close to me, a sergeant came up to me, and taking me by the arm, told me I was wounded; and he would assist in placing me on the grass. I said, I believed I was not wounded, but as he insisted, I was placed on the ground, where on rubbing my face, I found it covered with the blood and part of the brains of one of the poor fellows near me; and getting up, I convinced the sergeant that I was not wounded. In a very little time after this, I found the men and officers in rapid retreat, and passing me. I lost no time in joining them, and I confess, I never made better use of my legs. At one part of the road which we had to pass at an angle, the enemy poured in several volleys upon us, and many men fell. I was then close to Lieutenant Mc——, now Major-General Mc——, and I never saw a hotter fire. The bullets absolutely tore up the ground close to us on each side, and even between our legs; how we escaped was to me a

miracle. At length, another corps, I believe the 29th, came to our support, and checked the pursuit of the enemy. We then re-formed, and finally, our little army, commanded by General Nicolls, beat back the enemy, and dispossessed them of all the ground they had gained from us, bringing them back to their own position.

On the following day, after much skirmishing, we pursued the enemy, who took post on a hill, where they had a fort, mounted with small guns. There was a small village on the opposite side, and a haven for ships, and we could discover the masts of small craft. We found that it was determined to take this strong fort by storm, and the duty was assigned to the * * * * regiment. The regiment was paraded for this purpose at the same time as the 9th, 29th, 63rd, and 88th. The * * * * regiment advanced, and we could see a strong party of the enemy drawn up, about one third up the hill, determined to resist its advance. Very few shots were fired until the * * * * regiment had got to a belt of brushwood, which seemed in this part to encircle the hill. As the regiment was preparing to get through this belt, the enemy from above opened a very heavy fire. Betwixt its being galled by this fire, and the difficulty of scrambling over and through the thick brushwood, we could see some hesitation, and then disorder, in the ranks of the regiment. A few had got over, and the whole on both sides, instead of reserving

their fire till all were over, began firing in a very irregular manner. In a moment we saw them turn round and take to flight, in the greatest disorder; their officers endeavouring to restrain them, beating them with their swords, in their efforts to bring them back. But all would not do, and they ultimately fled in confusion, pursued closely by the enemy; several falling as they fled. At this time the other troops were drawn up; and I distinctly heard the exclamation of the soldiers from one end of the line to the other, "Ah, old boys of the * * * * regiment, at your old tricks! run away! run away!" When order was restored, Brigadier-General Campbell offered to carry the fort with the 29th Regiment. No time was lost; he instantly put himself at their head; and while we were all anxiously looking on, we saw the 29th Regiment advance steadily, and in perfect order, to the belt of brushwood, which they passed through in the most gallant manner, under a very sharp fire from the enemy, who advanced down the hill close upon them. The 29th formed on the other side of the thicket in great order, and gave a few volleys to the enemy, who retreated slowly up the hill. In the mean time, parties were detached right and left to threaten the rear of the enemy. While this was going on, we observed signals repeatedly made from the top of the hill; and as the 29th advanced towards the summit, we saw two large schooners making their escape from the harbour. We had no doubt they

contained valuables, and perhaps fugitives from the fort. As the schooners proceeded with all sail set, out of the harbour, we could observe an English frigate give chase to them. The sight was a most cheering one. We saw the corvettes take opposite courses; at length we saw the frigate nearing one of them; but before the conclusion, we were ourselves called upon to act. As the 29th with a reserve neared the top of the hill, we were ordered round to take the enemy in flank. On marching forward, we saw the enemy in retreat. He had abandoned the hill and the fort. The light troops which followed them cut off and killed a great number. I saw a French drummer overtaken by a soldier of the 68th. When very near him, the Frenchman fell on his knees, appearing to entreat him to spare his life, which the gallant fellow did, leaving him behind, and preparing to pursue others who were flying. When our soldiers had moved a few yards, the Frenchman, crawling on the ground, clutched at his own firelock, and fired it at the man of the 68th who had spared his life. The small party I was with, who were not observed by him then ran up, and the drummer, who had missed the man of the 68th, was carried a prisoner to a negro village, a little way off. While we were speaking to the drummer, and remonstrating with him on his dastardly treachery in attempting to shoot the man who had spared his life, a soldier came into the circle, and deliberately placing his loaded musket to the

Frenchman's ear, discharged the contents into his head. The poor wretch died instantly. I was much horrified at this act, perpetrated almost in cool blood; however, at the time, it was prudent to be silent, for the soldiers had been irritated by many of their comrades having been treacherously butchered in cold blood, when made prisoners.

After I had made all the arrangements for the wounded, as principal medical officer; sending some to head-quarters at Grenada, and the worst cases in a transport to Barbadoes; I was myself severely attacked with dysentery, and I found it necessary to go round to St. George's. The General took the opportunity to give me charge of the despatches for England, which were to be forwarded by the officer in command at St. George's. I embarked in a small schooner, and suffered much from the complaint I was afflicted with, as well as from sea-sickness during the passage: so that when we came to a port which I was told was only four miles distant from Richmond Hill, rather than continue the voyage to St. George's, I landed. I had, however, been but a short time ashore, when I found I was in a state of debility of which I had previously no idea. The morning was warm, and I could proceed but a short distance, when I was obliged to lie down for rest. In this way great part of the day was spent. I became alarmed, and made little progress. Observing a house at a little distance off, I made for it, and, on entering one

of the rooms, found all in darkness, from the verandahs being shut to keep out the rays of a scorching sun. I scrambled to a settee, and lay down upon it in great pain, and extremely exhausted. After remaining thus a few minutes, I found there was some one in the apartment, and from the sound I heard, I concluded it proceeded from some one smoking. I called out for assistance, saying I was extremely ill. The person in the room approached, and upon his opening a *jalousie* to discover who I was, I saw a face leaning over me which I thought was familiar to me. A very few minutes afterwards I recognised with surprise and delight, in the gentleman who had returned with some wine, that he was my old friend and fellow student Mr. Pemberton, a West Indian, who had come to King's College, Aberdeen, and subsequently studied medicine there and at Edinburgh. My old friend's kind attentions were unbounded. He entreated me to go to bed in his house, and to remain there till I recovered; telling me that I was labouring under a disease the most fatal to Europeans of any they met with in that climate. Having the despatches in my charge, and being likewise anxious to get to Richmond Hill, where my little baggage was in the care of some officers of my regiment, I resisted all his entreaties. He then got a horse for me; but when placed in the saddle, I was so feeble, as to be unable to sit upright. However, he got two servants, one on each side, to sup-

port me, and mounting his own horse accompanied me to Richmond Hill, which proved to be three miles distant: — to me, as I thought, the longest miles I had ever ridden.

On my arrival, I found the barracks at Richmond Hill crowded with troops sent down by Sir Ralph Abercrombie from Barbadoes, for the subjugation of the island, and I had assigned to me as my quarters, with five other officers, a small dark bomb-proof, with one port-embrasure, extremely ill-ventilated. There being no bedsteads, we slung in hammocks. The heat at night was suffocating, and my sufferings from so loathsome a complaint as dysentery were great. Nothing however could equal the kindness of the officers with whom I was thus crammed up, indeed of all the officers on the Hill, particularly of Colonel Hope, then deputy adjutant-general (afterwards Lord Hopetoun), whom I first met there. In the course of a few weeks, by the kind attention of friends, and the support of a good Highland constitution, I weathered it, and regained my health. The force sent to Grenada was such as to speedily enable us to regain the whole of the island. All the jails were now crowded with such of the rebels as had been made prisoners. Among them were most of the principal French proprietors, who were taken with arms in their hands. Having often before sworn allegiance to the British crown, there was no excuse for them. Again, some of these

gentlemen were said to have been accessory to the murder in cold blood of Governor Hume, and of several of his council, some time after they had been treacherously made prisoners. In one day, about twenty of these French proprietors were executed on a large gibbet in the market place of St. George's, leaving wives and families. It was said that the greater part of them possessed incomes of upwards of 1500*l.* sterling per annum.

For some time, an execution was a daily occurrence; and the court sitting daily, the trial was a speedy one. When the blacks were taken, their being captured with arms in their hands was to the attorney-general sufficient evidence for conviction, and if they were of the brigand class, of those especially who had committed murder and devastation upon their master's property, they were led directly from the bar of the court to the gallows. I witnessed one extraordinary instance of this kind.

I went one morning down to St. George's, to call upon a gentleman universally respected throughout the army in the West Indies, — the chaplain to Sir Ralph Abercrombie, who, I learned had just arrived. I found him at breakfast, at the hotel in the square or market place, and while we stood conversing, a black man, having his hands tied together with a rope, and accompanied by half a dozen people, passed quickly by. My reverend friend asked who they were;

I replied, I believed the black man was going to be executed; of the others, one was the hangman, and one a sheriff's officer. He appeared shocked; and asked if executions were so frequent as to attract no more notice, for at this time not less than two or three hundred people were in and about the stalls in the market place, yet scarcely any of them moved. The clergyman took his hat, and requested me to accompany him. On going out, we found the party under the gallows, which was always standing. My reverend friend was shocked at seeing blackie unaccompanied by any minister of religion, and offered his services, the answer to which was a laugh from the only white man of the party, the sheriff's officer,—who, on being questioned as to the man's crime, informed us he was a brigand who had fired his master's house. The poor black man, who by this time was on the platform, the executioner adjusting the rope, understood what he was charged with, and addressing us in French earnestly denied it; moreover he said that he had most important disclosures to make in regard to the murders committed, and the combination in the island. My reverend friend immediately ascended the scaffold, requesting me to accompany him. I addressed the officer of justice—the sheriff's officer—requesting him to delay the execution, as important discoveries might be made. He told me he would not and could not. I begged him to delay the execution for ten

minutes, till I could see the attorney-general, then, as I knew, in court. The ruffian would not; but desired me instantly to come down, saying, if we did not, he would immediately withdraw the bolt, and leave us where we were, and blackie dangling round us. As I felt assured he would be as good as his word, and as I feared that on being cast off the black might get hold of our clothes, I quickly ran down the steps, my friend following me; and immediately we heard the bolt drawn. In another instant the poor black was swinging in the air. It would appear that, just as he was being cast off, the poor man was in the act of speaking,—perhaps of imploring us; for when we looked up at him, swinging, we could see blood flowing from his mouth, as though he had bitten his tongue in the act of speaking, when the bolt was drawn. With glazed eyes he appeared to stare wildly upon us, and the horrible sight haunted me for many days. I do not recollect ever to have seen anything so shocking. In the haste of the ruffian sheriff's officer, the executioner had not time to pull the cap over the poor man's face. My reverend friend was moved beyond measure; and he declared that never, till then, could he have believed such a monster in human form had existed. I went with a strong statement of his conduct to the attorney-general; but got no redress; I was told, the times did not allow scrutiny into such matters.

A considerable force having been sent to Grenada, the rebellion there was at length quelled. One after another, every post in the island fell into our hands, and the whole island was subjected to the British rule. But when quiet was restored, and inaction of the troops in quarters succeeded to the active operations in the field, where all was excitement; then, as I believe has ever happened in similar situations, much disease appeared. It now presented itself also with overwhelming force, and with hideous mortality, being more fatal to the army by far than the enemy. The number that died of yellow fever was four times that of those who fell by the bullet and bayonet. By reference to the comprehensive work of my friend the late Dr. Chisholm, who gave a complete history of the bulam or yellow fever, from its origin, and which for many years after devastated the whole of the West India Islands, it appeared that the fever had proved very fatal to the troops at Grenada before our little army came to it from Barbadoes. As I learned also from the officers of the 9th and 68th Regiments, on my arrival at Grenada, those two corps had become skeletons from the effects of it, and we found them such on our arrival. The disease, however, appeared in a more aggravated or hideous form among the troops when the rebellion was checked. They were numerous, too much so for the accommodation for them in the island, and, consequently, they were much crowded in many places; and

I feel a conviction that, in many cases, the disease was communicated by contagion, although not in its origin a contagious disease. At length the mortality, particularly of officers, became frightful. Of the officers quartered at Richmond Hill, many of them came down every morning to St. George's to see their friends of other corps, and to read the newspapers in the coffee house. The first question put on an officer entering the coffee room was — Who died since yesterday? and almost always several well known names of officers were announced.

CHAP. IV.

Orders to return to England. — Escapade of Dr. Bruce. — Scarcity of Provisions. — Tempestuous Weather. — Captain Vandeleur takes command of the Ship. — Reaches Cork. — Quarantine at Portsmouth.

ORDERS arrived for the detachment of the 88th Regiment to prepare to embark, to join their regiment in England. On this occasion Dr. Reynolds, surgeon of a regiment the number of which I forget, sent a communication to me through a friend, requesting to know if I would exchange with him, on his giving me a sum of money for the exchange. As I felt no objection to remain in the West Indies, where it appeared to me I had as good a chance of promotion as anywhere else, I expressed a readiness to enter into negotiation, and invited Reynolds to come the following day to dine with me at the mess of the officers of the 88th. He came and dined with me, saying we would settle the articles of exchange after dinner. But as my friend drank so much wine, I could not enter on business with him; and the late Brigadier-General Kenneth Mackenzie, then a member of our mess, suggested to me that I ought not to permit my friend to return to St. George's that night, and kindly offered him a bed

at his quarters. However, I found Reynolds obstinately determined upon going, and having a servant with a second horse, he departed with another officer, who was returning to St. George's. In the morning I proceeded to St. George's to see Reynolds, and to settle the business of our exchange. On entering his quarter about 2 or 3 o'clock in the afternoon, I found the house in some confusion, and no one to answer my inquiries. At length I was excessively shocked to learn that poor Reynolds had just expired. It appears that soon after coming home, he was seized with violent diarrhœa; and about daylight in the morning, a black servant, not finding him in his bed, went to the closet, where he found him sitting in great debility, his whole skin of a yellow colour, when he himself exclaimed, "I have got the fever."

After this, as may readily be believed, I had no desire to exchange into another regiment, and remain in Grenada. But my able assistant, the late surgeon of the military college, Mr. Bruce, was at this time in negotiation, and had nearly closed an engagement to enter as assistant, and subsequently as a partner, with one of the civil practitioners on the island. In no long time after this, and when our numbers had been greatly diminished by the fatal fever, the remains of the three companies of the 88th Regiment were embarked for England. On our way to the rendezvous to proceed under convoy from the Virgin Islands, Bruce had finally

concluded a contract; and he parted with all of us, on the day of our embarkation, rather in a melancholy mood. On the following day, as the vessels were getting under way, a boat was seen making from the shore to our vessel, and, by the aid of glasses, the officers discerned that Dr. Bruce was on board. As the boat came near, we could observe that he had trunks and baggage with him. On coming upon deck, he told me that he had spent the most horrible night he ever passed in his life, and that no consideration in the world, not the wealth of the Indies, would induce him to remain in such a Golgotha, and part from his friends. In fact, Bruce ran for it, and acknowledged that he had made no communication to the other contracting party of his resolve to start for England. We were all delighted to have Bruce with us, because, although a very silent man, he was most kind-hearted, and a man of sterling worth; withal of an independent spirit, of profound learning, and great professional reading.

The hurricane season approaching, we were hurried off with other transports, particularly those with the 10th Regiment on board, to the island of Tortola—the place of rendezvous; from which the convoy for England hastened our departure, nor gave us time to take in provisions for the voyage. The frigate sent us on board a few bags of biscuit and rice, with some barrels of salt pork. We purchased with difficulty, a

dozen of fowls, the only stock of fresh provisions we could obtain for seven officers and about 100 men. I went on shore at Tortola, with the officers, but saw little of the island, though we saw a very great number of turtle, both as the vessel approached and left the place. The inn at the little island of Tortola was excessively crowded, officers of every corps at the rendezvous seeking refreshments, and nothing to be had. On the following morning we got under way, as indeed did the whole fleet, on their voyage to England. It was anything but a prosperous one to the whole fleet, and in an especial degree to us.

The hurricane season was just setting in; that was the reason why we were hurried off without taking in any stock of provisions for the ship, and without any for the officers, except the dozen of fowls for seven of us. There were, moreover, no comforts laid in for what sickness might occur during the voyage. All this was done to save the insurance of the vessel, which, in case any accident befell her, would have been forfeited, if we did not take our departure before a certain day, which was now at hand.

At Grenada we did not take a sick man on board; I minutely inspected the whole detachment before a man was allowed to enter the boats, and objected to every man who had the least appearance of disease or debility. I was scrupulously careful in this, the yellow fever having prevailed in the detachment of the 88th, as well

as in every corps in Grenada, at the time of our embarkation. However, in the few days occupied in sailing from Barbadoes to Tortola, some cases of fever made their appearance; but they at first seemed to me so slight, as not to occasion any alarm. The vessel in which we embarked was an old crank transport, of the worst description, and, as afterwards appeared, ought never to have been taken up for the service. Sometime before we had embarked, I learned that the captain had died of yellow fever. The vessel was then commanded by the mate, who had been promoted to be captain. But, a few days after we sailed from Tortola, he also was seized with yellow fever, and speedily died of it. To the best of my recollection, two or three of the seamen also succumbed to it. It then made its appearance among the troops, and committed great havock. Nearly one fourth were attacked by it, and the mortality was very high. At length we had some cause to regret the death of the acting captain with whom we had embarked; for his successor—a man from before the mast—was, we found, not only grossly ignorant of navigation, but likewise grossly intemperate. We found him not unfrequently lying dead drunk opposite the companion door. We had not been at sea above ten days, when we experienced the most tempestuous weather. This proved fatal to several transports, which foundered at sea. The dead lights were

constantly in. Our tub of a vessel rolled about fearfully, and appeared quite unmanageable. Indeed we had no one on board to handle her properly. At this time our situation was anything but enviable: the billows running mountains high, our cabin in total darkness, and occasionally admitting water; our acting captain almost always drunk; some men dying daily and thrown overboard; and I endeavouring to read the service over them. There was neither bread nor biscuit on board. A little rice only in lieu of it was sparingly distributed to us; our only food salt and fresh pork alternately; our vessel very crank; and the crew and soldiers dispirited. I ought to have mentioned that, when our captain died, it was thought decent that the carpenter should make a coffin for him. He put some planks together; but, as it appeared, so loosely, that when the sailors threw it overboard, as I pronounced the words in the burial service, "we therefore commit his body to the deep," &c., the slender coffin fell to pieces upon striking the water, and the corpse of our poor captain floated on the surface of the sea, to the horror of the sailors. From this circumstance, that superstitious race boded that something bad would befall us; and ascribed to it the subsequent great mortality on board, and the terrible weather we suffered. The acting captain was so constantly drunk, and the vessel left so entirely to the mercy of the waves, that all, seeing the very perilous situation we were in, became

alarmed. One remedy alone appeared left to us. Among the seven officers on board, was a Captain Vandeleur, who, before he entered the army, had been for several years a midshipman in the navy. We determined to depose our drunken captain, and conferred the command of the vessel on honest Jack Vandeleur, who still retained more the appearance, as well as the blunt humour and manner of a sailor than a soldier, although, as will appear, he did not display a profound nautical skill in the command of the Betsey transport. Captain Vandeleur immediately set to work, and, with all the externals of a skipper, he began to take observations. The weather somewhat moderating, one day at noon, after taking his observation, he told us we were approaching the British Channel. Next day he told us we were in it. The third day, he told us we were in the Downs; but we were enveloped in a thick fog; so that he could not go through the form of taking an observation, and indeed no one on board could see the distance of the length of the ship. At length we heard a ship's bell tolling; which continuing for some time, the attention of all was directed to it. We judged from the sound, that the vesssel must be very near to us. We hailed; and Vandeleur inquired through the trumpet "What ship?" "The Mary of New York," was the reply. Vandeleur then inquired "How near Dover are we?" "Dover!" replied the Yankee, "you are in the St. George's Channel; the

mouth of the Mersey not far off!" We instantly put the ship about, not much impressed with the correctness of the details of reckoning which Vandeleur daily told us he had kept. For some time we held on a course which Vandeleur thought would bring us into the mouth of the Channel; when, early in the morning, there was a cry of "breakers ahead!" The ship's course was instantily changed; and we put about; but on the mist clearing away, we discovered rocks, and land on each side of us. On consulting the chart, we found we had got among the Scilly Islands, and were in a narrow strait among them, which was considered dangerous and never attempted by vessels. However, situated as we were, Captain Vandeleur thought it prudent to thread it through; and as the weather was most favourable, we accomplished it. At this time, we had a very calm sea, and little or no wind, but what was favourable to our getting up the Channel. However, in the night, the wind got up, and by the morning, it blew a hurricane, quite in our teeth. After some time Vandeleur told us he must put about ship, and make for any port in Ireland. He did so; we almost flew before the wind, but the vessel made so much water, that we, sailors and all, became uneasy. However we all cheered up when we saw land ahead, and we were told it was the coast somewhere about Cork; which harbour we safely anchored in; and in the afternoon the crazy vessel was brought up to Cove. The officers

instantly went ashore, and to a small inn on the quay; and seldom perhaps was the situation of any seven officers more happily changed from our crank unsafe vessel, where everything was dirty and wet, without provisions or water (for even that had been dealt out at short allowance), to the comforts of an inn, however small. The constant feeding on pork alone, the only change being that it was one day salt and next day fresh, had induced a distaste for it amounting almost to nausea. Indeed several, myself included, had a horror of the sight of the pork; but fortunate it was for me, as a Scotchman, there was a considerable quantity of oatmeal and some porter belonging to the officers' stock on board; so that I had dined for several weeks on bourgou, or, as it is called in Scotland, "pottage." Mr. Bruce was at first my only mess-mate in this dinner fare; but at length all became accustomed to it, and even liked it. Our release from the ship was a relief to us all, from the mortality which had occurred on board, and the number of our shipmates whom we had committed to the deep. On Captain Vandeleur reporting our arrival to the officer in command at Cork, General Massey (afterwards Lord Clarina) politely gave us an invitation to dine with him; but then a great difficulty occurred: our wardrobes were all in so miserable a state, as not to afford sufficient to make a decent appearance at the General's table; and what was worse, we were penniless; for we had been so

hurried off, first from Grenada, and then from Tortola, that no time was given us to get money from the Deputy Paymaster General. Furthermore, money was absolutely required to procure necessaries, and supply the wants of the troops on board; but unknown as every individual was at the Cork banks, they would not advance any. On this occasion, old General Massey handsomely came forward, and gave his security at the principal bank for any demands we might make. We certainly were in a pitiable plight, and made a most miserable appearance.

An examination and survey of our transport was ordered by the Admiral on the Cork station. When this survey was effected, the very damaged state of the old Betsey was discovered; and the surveyor said it was a miracle that she had ever been brought into port. She was condemned, and a report made accordingly to the Admiralty. There being no transport, however, to convey us to England, an order having been received to send us thither as quickly as possible, they set about repairing the Betsey to make her seaworthy.

In the mean time we removed from Cove to Cork. We lived and messed in an excellent inn, where the good cheer tempted us to make up for our late sufferings and starvation on ship-board. While we were here, as our vessel was the first arrival from the West Indies, many came to make inquiry after their relations in the corps in the West Indies; many of whom

were mothers, sisters, brothers, or other relatives of officers of the army of Sir Ralph Abercrombie. But to many of these we regretted our inability to render any information of their relatives.

The irregularities of the men were considerable; and they brought me rather a heavy sick list in proportion to our numbers. But this was not surprising, considering that they had just broken loose from a melancholy confinement and privation on board a vessel, where during the voyage they had seen so many of their comrades consigned to the deep.

CHAP. V.

Short Stay in London. — Rencontre with Captain Maconnochie. — Head Quarters of the 88th at Halifax, Yorkshire. — Visits Scotland. — Ordered to Portsmouth. — Petersfield. — French Captain of the "Tribune." — Mutiny of the Fleet.

After the bustle of the first week of our arrival at Cork had been got over, I had leisure for reading and study; and as usual became a purchaser of books at booksellers' shops and stalls. Paine's works were then the rage; I read them, with replies from various quarters, and I was particularly taken with that of Dr. Watson, "The Bishop of Llandaff's Apology for the Bible," as he termed it.

I was likewise able to get some of the recent professional works, as well as the cheap Irish editions of some standard works.

At length, the Betsey having undergone a repair, been surveyed by the navy, and declared seaworthy, the detachment of the 88th Regiment was embarked. We sailed with a fair wind, and had a quick passage to Portsmouth. For what reason I never heard distinctly, but about twelve hours after we came to anchor, we were ordered to the Motherbank, and to hoist the yellow flag, as being in quarantine. I understood that

the horrible mortality at this time in the West Indies had spread consternation; and when it was fully ascertained that we came thence, we were ordered into quarantine; the authorities ridiculously forgetting that we had been several weeks at Cork, and ignorant of the fact that several of the officers had been on shore during the night at Portsmouth. However, so it was, and the officers hurried on board the Betsey, at the Motherbank, where she hoisted an old blanket, having no yellow flag on board.

After a short quarantine, the remains of the three companies of the 88th Regiment were landed, and sent on a long march, to join the head quarters at Halifax, in Yorkshire, where the clothiers had been turbulent. With some other officers, I obtained leave of absence, and went to London, intending to join at Halifax, soon after the detachment should have terminated their long march.

One hazy November day in London, when coming up from the Horse Guards towards the Northumberland Coffee House, where I usually lodged, I suddenly met my old and esteemed friend Captain Maconnochie, formerly of the 88th, now of a regiment which had served in St. Domingo. When I met my old friend and laid hold of his hand, I found him in great perturbation, mixed with apparent surprise. He breathed hard, and spoke but a few words, which were almost inarticulate. I ascribed this to his wonted disease,

asthma, with which he was frequently afflicted; but he long grasped my hands, without saying anything, looking remarkably pale. Thinking he had been suddenly taken ill, I laid hold of his arm, saying he must go in somewhere, as I was sure he was very ill. He allowed me to lead him to the Northumberland Coffee House, which was hard by, and sometime after he had been seated, and that I had given him a glass of wine; while grasping my hands, he told me the cause of his great surprise. It was, that for many months he firmly believed I was numbered with the dead, and he recounted circumstances as follows.

When an account of the operations in Grenada reached the head quarters at Barbadoes, Captain Maconnochie had just arrived at that island; a mail had just come in from England, the bags were sent to the post office, and my old friend with a crowd of people were besieging the post office, waiting for their letters. My friend Dr. Robertson, of the naval hospital at Barbadoes, was among the crowd at the post office. After getting his own letters, he inquired of the post master if he had any letter for Mr. McGrigor, surgeon of the 88th Regiment. Maconnochie, who was close to Dr. Robertson, immediately inquired if he could tell him where I was. Robertson told him I had been unfortunately killed "in that action the other day at Grenada," and that he was now collecting all my letters and papers, as well as my baggage, to send to my father at Aberdeen; and

Dr. Robertson actually wrote to Dr. Livingstone at Aberdeen an account of the circumstances of my death, desiring him to communicate it in the best manner, and in proper terms to my father. But to return to my old friend Maconnochie: it appeared he had embarked for St. Domingo two days after meeting Dr. Robertson. He was subsequently made prisoner, and never heard any contradiction of the report of my death, until he met me near Charing Cross, shortly after his arrival in London. The extreme surprise and the apparent sudden illness of my friend were thus at once accounted for. We dined and spent the evening together at the Northumberland Coffee House, and we each recounted our travels and adventures since we had last parted. Having visited all my friends in town, and entirely recovered my health, I laid in a fresh stock of books, as I always did whenever I visited the metropolis, and determined to set off to join my regiment in Yorkshire. Captain Maconnochie agreed to accompany me, provided I would afterwards journey with him to Scotland. This I readily agreed to do, provided I could obtain leave from the commanding officer, Lieut. Colonel Beresford. Our arrival at Halifax in Yorkshire, where the whole of the 88th Regiment was stationed, was warmly greeted by our brother officers there, among whom I found my brother, then a lieutenant.

After visiting my friends in Scotland, and staying some time with them, I set off to rejoin my regiment,

and found all my brother officers enjoying much hospitality and entertainment at Halifax in Yorkshire. At this place, the corps received orders to march for Portsmouth, to be there embarked for the island of Jersey.

I well remember that long march, which was a very pleasant one.

As we proceeded on the route, we learned the very serious mutiny of the fleet at Portsmouth, and hurried thither by forced marches. At Petersfield, however, we were halted for three days. This place was one of the principal depôts for French officers — prisoners of war; and an extraordinary occurrence befell us there. After marching into Petersfield, and when the officers had refreshed and dressed themselves after a fatiguing march in the morning, they sauntered in parties about the town. Several of us were in the apartment allotted for our mess room at the principal inn, when Lieutenant Blake entered, and told us that in his walk he had met that infamous scoundrel of a Frenchman, the Commodore who had commanded the Tribune, when they were made prisoners, who stood on his quarter deck while the French sailors and sub-officers rifled their pockets, robbed them of their watches, and even took their buckles and epaulettes from them. Blake said the fellow saluted him, and was coming up with another Frenchman, when he turned on his heel from them. Some of the young officers present spoke

in terms of indignation, and said they would insult and be revenged on the Frenchmen for all the ill-treatment they had gone through while prisoners. Colonel Beresford, who was in the room, desired them to leave the matter entirely to him, and he would settle the business. He told them they should see the French Commodore their guest at the mess table; and under the severest penalty, and utmost displeasure, forbade any gentleman there to act otherwise than most courteously to the Commodore, or any French officer who might accompany him. He desired, furthermore, that extreme courtesy, respect, and attention might be shown to the Frenchmen in the most minute particulars. Accordingly, the Colonel went to pay his respects to the French Commodore, accompanied by the two other field officers, and not only invited him to dine with him that day, but told him it was the request of the officers of the 88th Regiment that he would be their guest daily, at their mess, while they remained at Petersfield; and further, that he was to bring along with him such of the officers of the Tribune as were at Petersfield. The Commodore with a profusion of thanks and French compliments, refused the dinner invitation, feeling, as he must have done, how little he was entitled to kindness or attention from gentlemen to whom he had behaved in so scandalous a manner. However, Beresford, who had been educated in France, and who knew Frenchmen well, was peremptory; repeated

again and again his invitation that the Commodore and all his friends should make our head quarters their home, and dine with us daily. The Frenchman was very painfully desirous to get off, but could not; Beresford stuck to him, and, with a French overflow of compliment, he with one of his officers agreed to dine with us.

Well, the dinner hour came; the French arrived in due time, the drums beat "The Roast Beef of Old England," and Colonel Beresford, taking the chair, seated the Frenchmen, one on his right the other on his left. On entering the room, Colonel Beresford introduced the officers one by one to the Commodore; and as he passed those he had taken prisoners in the Tribune, he greeted each. Having their cue, they behaved most courteously to him. At first he was evidently ill at ease; but as the dinner went on, and as several officers asked him to drink wine, this wore off. In a little time no one in the room appeared more at ease than the French Commodore. The cloth being removed, and vin de Bordeaux placed on the table, the usual toasts were given by Colonel Beresford; first the king, then the navy and army; the third toast was the navy and army of the French Republic. This toast seemed to stagger him for a moment. However, he got up, made a French speech, in which, instead of lauding French sailors, he abused them, as compared to English, and ended by dwelling on their inferiority and insubordination, con-

cluding finally by stating that their officers had no control over them.

We all at once saw through the meaning of this; it was intended as an apology and excuse for the rifling and robbing of the English officers, when they came on board the Tribune. After resuming his seat for a moment, the Commodore got again on his legs, and proposed the health of Le Roi George, lauding him and our government in extravagant terms. During the two more days that we remained at Petersfield, the Commodore was our daily guest, and appeared to be quite at his ease.

Late on the evening of the third day from that on which we marched into Petersfield, an order arrived for our setting out on the march to Portsmouth, by daylight of the following morning. On our arrival at Portsmouth, we found a great body of troops, and everything in the most critical state on board the fleet, the officers having been sent on shore, and the crews' delegates ruling everything at Spithead. Great numbers of the sailors were on shore, roaming the streets and the neighbouring country in a mutinous and drunken state, their language and conduct most insubordinate and treasonable. At this time it was not thought prudent to interrupt them much; in fact a great part of the inhabitants of Portsmouth and its neighbourhood, and all the owners of public houses and of slop shops, with the dissolute females of the town,

appeared to be of their party. Still, troops were pouring daily into Portsmouth, and we foresaw that the season for action was approaching.

At first a military officer dared not go to the theatre in uniform. "God save the King" was not allowed to be sung. If a soldier went to the theatre he was sent out of it or insulted. As the soldiers increased in number, the friends of the sailors, who profited by them, appeared daily to diminish. At length the soldiers in strong parties dared to go to the theatre, and officers ventured to appear there in uniform. At this time, the corps of officers of the 88th — about thirty in number —took places and went to the theatre together. A great body of the soldiers, all Irishmen, got tickets for the gallery, where there were many disorderly sailors, with their dissolute female companions. We called for, "God save the King." This was the commencement of a trial between the parties; the sailors and several of the inhabitants resisting the loyal song being sung. However, we carried it, and the soldiers turned out all the malcontents. After this, the song was sung, I believe, half a dozen times in the course of the evening, every individual standing up and joining in the chorus. After this struggle it was never omitted in the Patent Theatre.

About this time, or soon after, the conciliatory measures of government took effect on board the fleet, and they gave up their delegates.

CHAP. VI.

Sir J. M'Grigor embarks with his Regiment for India. — Contrast of the Military Medical Officers at that time and subsequently. — Bombay. — Ceylon. — Disease of the Guinea-worm. — Counter-orders to the Red Sea.

On Christmas day, 1798, we embarked at Portsmouth for India, and arrived in Bombay about the middle of the following May. Two companies, under Colonel Callender, followed us some months after, and by some mischance were landed at Madras. A year nearly elapsed before they joined head quarters at Bombay. On our arrival we found two King's regiments in quarters in the garrison of Bombay, the 84th and 86th, and we experienced the usual hospitalities which regiments meeting on foreign stations receive from each other. The 88th had the small island of Colabah assigned to them as their quarters. Unless at low water, Colabah is surrounded by the sea, but at the time of low water, it is accessible to the natives, who scramble over the rocks which connect it with the fortress.

On approaching Bombay, and on landing, we were

struck with the dress and manners of the various castes and tribes of the natives. The mode of conveyance—the palanquin—surprised us no less than the bustle of the different castes of native attendants.

I found, as I was led to expect, that when the regiment was collected together, my situation in point of emolument would be a very comfortable one; and in truth, considering the drudgery to be undergone, and the excessive labour which falls on the medical officer who thoroughly does his duty, he ought to have a high reward to look to.

The advantages of medical officers in the service, during the last forty years, have, it is true, been greatly increased; but Government was compelled to increase them, because, soon after the commencement of the revolutionary war with France, the greatest difficulty was found in obtaining those who were qualified for the duties. It was at one time found absolutely necessary to advertise for them; and in fact to beat up for them, offering present pay and good quarters. Placards were posted on the college gates of Dublin, Edinburgh, and Glasgow, offering commissions to such as could pass some kind of examination; which, if passed, immediately entitled them, under a warrant from the army medical board, to pay and quarters. They had, moreover, all their travelling charges defrayed from the place whence they came. This was continued

for many years; indeed, till nearly the close of the war; and it was the occasion of many uneducated and unqualified persons being introduced to the service, not a few of whom, in quarters where the promotion was rapid, found means to pass through different grades to the rank of regimental and staff surgeon. Not a few apothecaries, and even druggists' apprentices, found their way into the service in this manner.

I ought not to omit stating that, whilst a number of most deserving, although ill-educated young men, thus gained admission into the service; from the increase of pay and half pay, and other advantages, which Government found it necessary to concede from time to time, and to increase, the encouragement then held out induced likewise many men of finished education and great endowments to enter, who redeemed the character of the medical officer with the army in general.

It is not only in the sense of humanity, but in that of a sound policy and real economy, that the State should provide able medical and surgical advice for the soldier when sick or wounded. I look upon it to be an implied part of the compact of citizens with the State, that, whoever enters the service of his country as a soldier to fight its battles, should be provided with the same quality of medical aid, when sick or wounded, which he enjoyed when a citizen. In every large town,

whence the great bulk of recruits is drawn, there are public hospitals and dispensaries, which, supported by the subscriptions of the rich, are always open to the sick and poor, and to persons of the middle classes; in fact, to those ranks in life from which the soldier comes. The physicians and surgeons of these public institutions are always the ablest men in the profession of medicine. After the enjoyment of such medical aid, the soldier should not, therefore, be consigned to the ignorant and uneducated of the profession; he is clearly entitled to the same quality of medical advice as when he was a citizen, and is not to be put off with a cheap article of a doctor, and with one who could not afford the expense of a regular medical education.

With a full knowledge of the subject, and strongly impressed with the circumstances which I have stated, and which I have witnessed hundreds of times; when I came into office, as head of the department, at the conclusion of the war; my first object was to find a remedy for this great evil. I gradually collected full statements of the education and services of every individual medical officer in the army, which were drawn up and duly signed by each. Having thus come to the full knowledge of the education and qualification of each individual, I intimated to every one who was deficient that he was not to expect any further

promotion in the service, until he had completed his medical education, according to a scale which, in conjunction with my colleagues at the board, I had established. At the end of the war there was of course a great reduction of medical officers, and a very great number were placed on the half pay list. I earnestly recommended these to betake themselves to colleges and schools of medicine, either at home or abroad. Accordingly a great number, and not a few of those who had previously a tolerably good medical education, betook themselves to Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dublin, Paris, and the German schools. Several went to those schools to perfect their studies, and to pass the time till they should be recalled to full pay; it being intimated to all that, the higher the qualifications any individual possessed, the better chance he would have of promotion. Further, not a few of the officers on full pay, at home or abroad, obtained six or twelve months' leave of absence, and proceeded to some of the schools to add to their qualifications. The effect of this measure really exceeded the most sanguine expectations I had formed of it. There appeared a new spirit of emulation in the service, which gained for the department much credit with our brethren in civil life; and the effect of the measure in the advantage gained to the public service has been incalculable: for I can fearlessly assert, that in the ranks of the medical

officers of the army, men are to be found upon a level, at least, with those in the colleges of physicians and surgeons of London, Edinburgh, and Dublin; and the soldier now well knows that he has as able advice, and is quite as kindly treated, as when he was a patient of the first hospital or dispensary in the kingdom, previous to his enlistment. But to return from this digression, to Bombay, where we landed in a tolerably healthy state, although we were not without sickness on board, during a voyage of little less than half a year, I kept a regular journal of the cases which occurred on board, and therefrom drew out a statement, which, at the desire of Dr. Gregory, the Professor of Medicine in the University of Edinburgh, I transmitted to him. He wrote me word that from this statement he had read extracts to his class, particularly on dysentery and hepatitis, of which we had several cases after we had entered the tropics.

We stopped a few days at the Cape, but did not re-victual there; taking on board some casks of water and fresh provisions only, for the officers' table. One of the ships, being a slow sailer, delayed us much, and annoyed our convoy; my friend the Hon. Captain Elphinstone, not forgetting his promise to his brother, Lord Elphinstone, gave me a feed occasionally at sea. As we proceeded, and rather out of our course, we made for the island of Johanna, one of the Comorin

islands; where we remained a few days, and as the scurvy began to make its appearance, I recommended that parties of the men should be daily landed, and walked about, while we took in a stock of cocoa-nuts, and such vegetables and fruits for them, as the island afforded.

Soon after we dropped anchor, his Majesty the King of Johanna came on board, attended by some of his sable ministers. I remember that the black fellow whom we understood to be his prime minister, was called Mr. Pitt; but the others had names corresponding to our distinguished characters at home, such as the Duke of Richmond, Marquis of Huntley, Duke of York, &c. The ladies had likewise their names, and the black lady who washed for me said she was the Duchess of Devonshire. We visited a fort and a mosque in Johanna. The inhabitants are Mussulmen, and they complained much of their neighbours in Madagascar, who frequently land and carry them off as slaves. His Majesty begged hard for a few guns from the captain, then for two swivels to defend himself. Not obtaining either, it was made known to the officers that an old uniform coat, with the epaulettes, would be acceptable to his Majesty. Of these he obtained two, I believe, from the officers; indeed we soon found His Majesty habited in a full dress British uniform, all of which, particularly the pantaloons, were much the worse for the wear.

Having taken on board what vegetables and fruit we could obtain, we weighed anchor, and, as already stated, made for Bombay. Our stock taken on board at Johanna had the effect of arresting scurvy.

We found General James Stuart — an old officer of the King's service — in command of the troops at Bombay. Commencing at his table, we received a round of hospitalities on our landing. Besides these invitations to the corps of officers, I was much indebted to my brothers in the Company's service, particularly to Dr. Moir, first member of the Medical Board, to Dr. Sandwith, to Dr. Stuart, and of all others to the very able and ingenious Dr. Helenus Scott,× whose acquaintance I first made at Bombay, and with whom I continued on terms of friendship for twenty years, and till the termination of his life. Dr. Scott was no common man, and his life, had he written it, would have been replete with adventure and interest.

I gradually slid into the acquaintance and friendship of Mr. Jonathan Duncan, then Governor of Bombay; who, with many peculiarities, was likewise an able man, and of much and varied information on most subjects. On everything relating to India, its history, the manners of the inhabitants, &c., he was perhaps without a rival in his time. He much admired the character of the natives, mixed much with them, and spoke most of the languages or dialects of languages of Hindostan.

× MA Mar. Coll. abd 1777 : MD. 1805.

The kind hospitality which is shown to strangers, more I believe at Bombay than at the larger presidencies of Madras and Calcutta, procured for me in a short time the acquaintance and subsequently the friendship of nearly all my brethren, the medical officers of the Company's service; and long after I left Bombay, and had returned to Europe, I enjoyed the friendship and correspondence of all the superior medical officers.

We had hardly been a month at Bombay, when partly from the irregularities of the men, the heat of the climate, and the thirst for toddy and arrack, I accumulated an hospital full of sick, the prevailing diseases being dysentery and hepatitis.

At length, when quietly settled in our bungalows, on the esplanade of the fort, where I had built a very commodious one, the 88th Regiment was ordered, by an overland despatch, to proceed to Ceylon; and it was understood a force was to rendezvous there for a particular service from all the presidencies of India. The note of preparation was sounded, and all was bustle.

I had to leave my bungalow at the disposal of Colonel Grant, of the 77th, afterwards Major-General Grant 82nd Regiment, an invalid friend who was my guest, and ill when I had to embark. I left my furniture, horses, palanquin, and library with the Colonel

and others of my kind friends, who, after my departure, disposed of all but the last.

We were hastily embarked in a large vessel, which Government took up for us; but the officers were much crowded, and the weather excessively warm. The wind was very scant, though favourable, on our passage. As we kept close to the coast we were enabled to see almost every place on the Malabar shore. On St. Patrick's day we were opposite Goa, where the 84th Regiment was stationed, and Sir William Clark sent off to us a basket of vegetables, fruits, and especially the fine Goa mango. Colonel Beresford contributed some champagne from his private stock, to drink to the health of the patron saint of the day, and I presented six bottles of fine old hock from my stock. We passed the day in the most good-humoured conviviality, and there was a dance on deck in the evening, for the soldiers and their wives.

Approaching the island of Ceylon we plainly smelt the perfume of the cinnamon tree. On landing, we found the 19th and 51st Foot at Point de Galle, the 80th at Trincomalee, while soon after our landing, both European and native corps daily joined us from Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. It now transpired that the object of the expedition was Batavia, and ultimately the Isle of France. This raised the spirits of all, for every one expected to be enriched by the plunder to be

found there. Before it was known who was appointed Commander of the expedition, or what staff had been appointed by Government, the officers met and appointed the prize agents for the expedition. It was even calculated what amount of prize money was to come to each rank, and, strange and extraordinary as it may seem, some of the shares were played for and lost at cards!

The army assembled at Ceylon passed the time in much, too much, joviality for me. Having no hospital on shore, and treating my sick on shipboard, where I had the whole vessel almost entirely to myself, I took up my abode on board. In addition to the captain and two of his officers, I had there the society of my friend the late Colonel Robert Macgregor, who being in delicate health, took up his abode on board with me. After doing the duties of my hospital, I had much leisure for reading; and the weather being fine, I generally took the boat, and went on shore daily, although my assistant was there, to attend to the officers, and to casual cases which did not require hospital confinement on board. The officers of the different corps in the island made numerous excursions into the country, in the neighbourhood of Galle. I joined in one of these, with a party which went to a lake nearly ten miles distant. We set off in the morning, taking our provision with us. Starting at a very

early hour, we had got nearly to the destined spot before the flaming heat of the sun burst upon us. Arrived at the spot, it excited the admiration of all the party; it was most delightful. After breakfast we went on the lake in two canoes, which we lashed together, making a canopy of the boughs of trees, to shelter us from the sun. The sinuosities of this beautiful lake were numerous, and we did not proceed far up. Those who had guns amused themselves with firing at birds, the wild turkey, and at the monkeys which were very numerous. The cries of one of them which was wounded were so woefully mournful, so like the human female voice, that to me it was distressing in the extreme, and I succeeded in preventing my friends from further shooting at them. Indeed, the pointing of a gun at any of them, had the effect of bringing from them this painfully mournful cry. The plumage of the birds was superb, and the vegetation most luxuriant, both on several small islands, and on each side of this beautiful lake, which, we were informed, stretched a distance of fifty miles into the interior of the island.

After a delightful, although rather a fatiguing day, we returned to Point de Galle, in the evening.

While my time was occupied with the sick on board, my friend Mr. Bruce had medical charge on shore. He did not occupy his time, as did most of the officers, in constant card-playing, or at billiards. I have already

mentioned his turn for music, and also for languages, and the amazing facility with which he acquired them. He found that there was neither a grammar nor dictionary of the Cingalese, the language of the natives of Ceylon. He therefore set about compiling both, and had he remained sufficiently long at Ceylon, I am confident, from his general knowledge of the construction of various languages, from his habits of industry and extraordinary perseverance, and particularly from his acutely fine musical ear, he would have accomplished both. From morning till night, sitting on the stone steps which led to an upper apartment of a house where he lodged, Bruce was to be seen, with paper, pen, and ink, surrounded by a number of the natives, whom he questioned as to the names of various things. While at Ceylon he had taken down much in writing, and was constructing what he had into the radicals of the language.

Of the cases which came under my care in my hospital on board ship, a large proportion was what is called guinea-worm, which continued to infect the legs of the men, after we left Bombay, and I think first appeared one or two days before we made Ceylon.

The arrival of a beautiful vessel, one of the Company's cruisers, arrested one morning the attention of all: she came with despatches, which every one thought were to hasten the embarkation of the army for the baneful

climate of Manilla, from which many expected they never would return, yet all were apparently in high spirits. But the news brought by the cruiser astonished all. Our destination was changed from Batavia to the Red Sea; and now all was joy—for fighting and promotion were considered the certain result of an expedition to that quarter.*

* See Appendix A.

CHAP. VII.

Departure from India for the Red Sea. — Sir David Baird and the Hon. Colonel Wellesley — Guinea-worm Disease. — Cosseir. — The Desert. — Rosetta. — Grand Cairo. — Superintendence of the Medical Staff of the Indian Army. — The Plague.

An overland despatch from England had ordered that the expedition intended against Batavia, should be sent to Egypt, to assist in expelling the French from the dominions of the Grand Signor, and thus avert the possibility of their invading the Company's territories in India. Both Sepoys and European troops were to compose the force sent for this object. There was, however, some difficulty in obtaining the consent of the different castes of Sepoys to be applied to such distant service. Their officers, nevertheless, succeeded at length in reconciling them to it.

All embarked and set sail for Bombay, where we were to take in water in mussacks or water-bags, for its transport over the desert; various stores for the service in Egypt; and, above all things, money for the army. But the greatest difficulty was found in obtaining this latter most important requisite.

At Bombay we found Colonel Wellesley, who was to

command the expedition; and I having been appointed head of the medical staff, by my liberal friends of the Medical Board of Bombay, with a Company's commission, or appointment in that character (the first King's medical officer, I believe, who was ever so employed), was presented to Colonel Wellesley by my excellent friend Dr. Helenus Scott.

In my subsequent life I saw much of that illustrious man, under whom I was then to serve for the first time; and I was sorry to find him in greatly impaired health, at Bombay. But, as will hereafter be seen, we did not proceed under Colonel Wellesley, but under Brigadier-General Baird. The circumstances which led to this change in the command are fully detailed in the life of Sir David Baird*, a biographical narrative so full of adventure, that it is more like romance than history; yet I can testify to the fidelity of a great part thereof.

In consequence of an overland despatch from England, we hurried off from Bombay without having completed our water, and some corps left behind them their mussacks for its conveyance.

The guinea-worm still raged on board; and I found that in the vessel in which was Mr. Bruce, it had spread to a greater extent than in that in which I was, having ran through most of the soldiers, several of the ship's crew, and attacked Mr. Bruce himself, who suffered much torture from one in each leg. The

* Life of Sir David Baird, vol. i. 291.

disease is a very extraordinary one, and was new to me when I first met with it, although I was very well stocked with books, having had, I have reason to believe, a larger stock than most surgeons when we went to India. I looked in vain for an account of this loathsome and painful disease: I found mention merely of its name and antiquity, and that the only treatment was to pull it out daily.

A steady wind brought us past the opening of the Persian Gulf, and in a little time into the Straits of Babelmandel. We were then becalmed opposite the island of Socotra, which appeared a mere barren rock.

Most travellers have some object, something predominant, which they keep in view when visiting foreign countries. The interest of some is engrossed by the antiquities of the places they visit; some direct attention to their national, and some to their natural history; but the absorbing and only object with all those in our two transports, was the capability of fortifying this island, and how far it might command the straits and the two opposite coasts, so as to exclude an enemy from entering the Red Sea.

We touched both at Jedda and Mocha. In going into the former place we struck on a sand-bank, and got off with some difficulty. In the same place we found the La Forte frigate aground; she was subsequently lost in the Red Sea.

At Mocha we took on board a stock of its far-famed

honey, which was most rich and delicious. From Jedda to Cosseir the weather was bad; it blew fresh, and some accidents happened to the shipping before we anchored opposite Cosseir.

As the different vessels of the fleet anchored here, the troops and stores were disembarked under the orders of Colonel Murray, afterwards Sir John Murray, who so much distinguished himself by his military exploits on the east coast of Spain. Admiral Blankett, who had been previously detached with a naval force to the Red Sea by Admiral Rainier, then in command on the Indian station, had made what arrangements he could for us before our coming. The arrival of transport after transport, numbering not less than one hundred, with troops, provisions, cattle, &c. &c., occasioned no small bustle at the miserable little mud village of Cosseir. The situation of this place is altogether remarkable.

Acting on the commission which I had the honour to receive from the Company, bestowed upon me through the very liberal representations of the Medical Board at Bombay, I entered regularly on the duties of Superintendant of the medical concerns of the army; and made the best arrangements I could for the sick, and the care of the stores, appointing an acting apothecary to the army, and Mr. Small, of the 8th Light Dragoons, as purveyor to take the management of the accounts, and to be responsible for the money issued by him with

my sanction from the Paymaster-general of the Bengal service.

On landing, we found the weather excessively warm, encamped as we were on arid sand; and I got a smart attack of fever, occasioned, I believe, not more by the weather than by the fatiguing duty I had to perform. Having no assistant with me, I myself assiduously attended the sick of the 88th Regiment, whom I got most comfortably accommodated on shipboard, where I visited them daily. But then I had the organisation of the hospital concerns of our daily increasing army — a duty which was toilsome and harassing; and I regret to say, the toils were much increased by some of my brethren, who did not fail to throw difficulties in the way. I could make allowance for some feelings of jealousy in the medical officers of the Company, on seeing, I believe for the first time, an officer of the King's service placed over them in the superintendance of the medical concerns of a Company's army. This was felt perhaps more by the medical officers from the Bengal and Madras Presidencies, than by those of Bombay, to most of whom I was known. However, I had the happiness to find that, in no long time, all of them became reconciled to the new order of things, with the exception of two from Bengal, who obstinately persevered in a kind of opposition to the very last. With regard to all the rest, it is but justice to those most respectable officers, to say that, they yielded most

readily a perfect obedience on all occasions, and gave me the most firm support; and with several of them I continued on terms of friendship to the close of their lives.

At length, the part of the expedition sent from the Cape, began to arrive, viz., the 8th Dragoons and 61st Regiment, and with them came a medical staff sent out from England. Dr. Shapter, Inspector of Hospitals, arrived at the head of this staff, and I immediately gave over the charge of superintending the medical department, to this gentleman, one of the most amiable men that ever lived. Having gone so far with the arrangements, and having with much labour brought things to the state I had got them, I confess I felt nevertheless not a little mortified at being thus superseded; but no one could have conducted himself with more delicacy than did Dr. Shapter. He offered to recommend me for promotion to the rank of staff surgeon, and that I should act in the superintendance immediately under him. This, however, although pressed upon me by Sir David Baird, I refused; at the same time offering the aid and assistance which my experience of the Indian service enabled me to give to Dr. Shapter; it was therefore decided that I should conduct the duties and superintend till the army crossed the desert and had joined the English army in Lower Egypt.

I went down the Nile in the first of the djerms

destined for the conveyance of the troops, and landed at Ghiza, where some part of the English army had already arrived.

At Ghiza I met Dr. Frank, Inspector of Hospitals, the next officer of the English staff under Mr. Young, the Inspector-general of the hospitals of the English army. Dr. Frank demanded returns of the sick of the Indian army to be sent to him. Considering the Indian army to be a separate command, and as I was acting on the system of the service of the Indian Company, I thought it right not to accede to Dr. Frank's order, at least till I had communicated with Sir David Baird, who, by this time, had taken the command of the expedition from India. On communicating with General Baird, he told me I was quite right in not sending returns to Dr. Frank, and this communication I made to Dr. Frank in terms of civility.

At Ghiza, I suffered an attack of fever, which proved to be remittent, but which at first was feared would prove to be the plague. The attack was a severe one, and followed by long and protracted debility. When it could be done, I was removed to an airy situation in Cairo, near the Nile; and here soon after, I received as my guest Dr. Shapter, in very bad health. He had just crossed the desert, and was extremely debilitated.

Although still extremely weak, I embarked in a boat for Rosetta, with a party of the 88th. The djerm provided for me was a large and commodious boat, on

which there was a kind of cabin for me, and I was carried on board by some of the soldiers. These poor fellows, seeing me so feeble and so greatly reduced, vied with each other in their attentions, which were truly affectionate; yet I knew that some of the most forward of them in endearing acts of kindness, were the worst subjects and wildest characters in the regiment. Some of them were men towards whom for previous misconduct I had found it necessary to act with great severity; yet all was forgotten when they saw "the doctor" in such a state.

In going down the river we came to anchor every evening; when the victuals were cooked, and all partook of the meal of the day. On the morning of the second day, about the time the Arabs were getting the vessel under way, while I was taking breakfast, I saw about a dozen of the soldiers, running towards it, and found that they carried a sheep with them. On inquiring how they came by it, an orator among them said, "Your honour, how could we see you so weak and without mutton to make a little broth?" On my saying, "You rascals, have you stolen the sheep?" I saw a grin on their faces, and that the sheep was not the only article of plunder they had possessed themselves of; for another fellow had two fowls under his arm. In a little time a party of the natives appeared in pursuit. These were the owners of the sheep and fowls, to whom I paid their value; although

all this seemed to be a very unnecessary proceeding to my Connaught Ranger friends.

In coming down the Nile, although on embarking I was in a state of extreme debility, I was happy to find that I daily gained strength. My appetite became good, I felt returning health, and I enjoyed the merriment and jokes of the soldiers my companions in the djerm. On arriving at Rosetta, I found the 88th and other regiments of the Indian army encamped at El Hamed, within two miles of Rosetta, and but a little distance from the Nile. In a few days after my arrival on the ground of encampment, my servants, horses and camels, reached the ground, and likewise the whole of my stock, which I now began to add to; for sheep, fowls, rabbits, &c., were to be had cheap and in abundance.

Much had been said by our brethren of the King's army from England, whom we here met, of the luxury in which the Indian army had traversed the desert; and not without reason. They jeered us much, and called us the army of Darius; for besides many articles of apparel, and other things, which were unknown in the English army, several officers carried with them a stock of wine, such as hock, claret, &c., besides various luxuries for the table.

I had not been long encamped at El Hamed before I made myself very comfortable. I had upwards of a dozen Indian servants with their wives, besides my English soldier servant; and for my stock, three camels,

two horses, twenty-four sheep, three goats, several dozen of fowls, with a good many pigeons, rabbits, &c. My own large Indian marquee was in the centre, and around were the small Arab tents, which my Indian servants had raised for themselves. In another quarter were found all my animals, and a store tent, in which some of the servants nightly kept watch, and made rounds to see that no marauders made incursion upon us; which, however, they did occasionally, carrying off fowls, sheep, &c. Outside the whole I had a high mound thrown up, made from the vegetation on the bank of the river, having only one large gate to my premises. El Hamed was on the border of the Desert and a sandy plain, but my animals were fed with the grass from the bank of the river, and the grain which my blacks, with two Arab servants, could collect.

I can never forget the astonishment of some officers of the English army, old friends who had visited me, on my showing them the extent of my premises. They told me that I brought to their mind the age of the patriarchs of old, with their herds and their flocks, their man-servants and their maid-servants.

At Cairo, having initiated my excellent friend Dr. Shapter and Mr. Moss, the purveyor, in the superintending duties of the Indian army, and made them acquainted with the mustering and paying of the Doolie train of the army, and in all particulars of the

Indian service, I resigned the medical superintendance of it, and returned to my duty as surgeon of the 88th Regiment. To Dr. Shapter, to whom all the Indian duties were new and strange, the succession to my office was by no means agreeable, and further, I think, he felt uncomfortable in superseding me. Soon after our arrival at El Hamed, the greater part of the English army received orders to return from Egypt, and Dr. Young, the Inspector-General of Hospitals, with them. This brought Dr. Shapter to the superintendance of the medical department of the English army; upon which General Baird expressed a desire that I might be re-appointed to the separate charge of the Indian army, refusing the request of an old officer of high medical rank at Malta, who had served several years in India, for the appointment.

In a little time I left the encampment at El Hamed and moved into Rosetta, where my friend Mr. James, purveyor of hospitals, gave up to me a commodious quarter which he had occupied, in a delightful situation close to the river.

On my resuming the medical superintendance of the army from India, my first measure was to take steps to meet the appearance of the plague; for although no case actually existed, I thought it right to make the necessary preparations. I made the proper representation to General Baird, and, with his sanction, made immediate arrangements for pest-houses, houses of

observation, quarantine, &c., as well as for the formation of a board of health.

After the embarkation of the greater part of the English army, the Indian army was moved to Alexandria, being quartered in Rosetta, Damietta, and other places, and I was stationed at head-quarters in Alexandria.

At length, and as stated in my sketch of the campaign of the army from India to Egypt*, the plague made its appearance in Alexandria. During the illness of my assistant Mr. Tonnere, of the 88th Regiment, when there was a numerous sick list, I did all the duties of the regimental hospital myself, and in that corps, to the great alarm of the whole army, the plague made its first appearance.

The predominant disease in hospital at this time was fever, which in many instances ran its course rapidly, and terminated fatally with the appearance of typhus. Within the last three days the deaths had been very numerous, so as to occasion me much uneasiness. The hospital which the 88th occupied consisted of two adjoining houses, each of them having a court at the entrance. The rooms were small, and extremely ill-ventilated. However, in these small, dirty, old apartments I was obliged to huddle together eighty men of the 88th Regiment. I appropriated one room, which

* Medical Sketches of the Expedition from India to Egypt, by Sir James M'Grigor.

I believe had been the apartment of a porter, to be the receiving room, and therein I had three large portable baths, where every man on admission was well washed, previously to his being placed in a ward and receiving the hospital dress.

One morning, as I was leaving the hospital, where I had been sedulously employed with the sick for three hours, from five o'clock in the morning, I passed the receiving room, and observed that one man who was coming out of the bath had buboes both in the groin and about the neck. On my noticing this to the hospital steward, he told me that several of the last admissions were similarly affected; and added, that every one of the three corpses then in the dead-house, of men who had died the previous day and night, had those swellings. On my visiting the dead-house and examining the three bodies, to my horror I found this to be the case; and returning to the wards, found that several of the severe cases had buboes. Having no doubt that I had the plague in my hospital, on returning to my quarters it may readily be believed that I went with little appetite to breakfast; as from the intercourse which I had with the sick, and spending daily at least four hours with them, I felt I could hardly escape the disease. However, after changing my clothes, I took my horse and immediately proceeded to the camp to Sir David Baird, to whom I communicated the unwelcome news. At all times firm, and influenced less by alarm at danger than any man I

ever met, after the recital (made to him in private), he was even less moved than I expected; perhaps on account of Dr. White's opinion, who inculcated that plague was not a contagious disease, and who of late had had several interviews with Sir David on the subject. He enjoined the strictest silence on me, but at the same time he issued the necessary orders as to carrying into effect the precautionary means which I had suggested to him on our entering Lower Egypt, viz. those relating to the formation of pest-houses, quarantines, observation grounds, &c.

The whole of the sick of the 88th Regiment were removed from their hospital in Rosetta into the pest establishment there, while the regiment was removed from the general encampment, and took up ground separately from the rest of the army, being kept in a state of observation, and any febrile case, as it appeared, being instantly sent either into the pest establishment or into the observation ground in tents attached to it. However, the measures taken occasioned no small alarm; more especially, when, on the day following that on which I reported the 88th Regiment, I found that some more than suspicious cases had presented themselves in the 61st Regiment, where the same measures were introduced which had been adopted in regard to the 88th. Subsequently, as stated in the Medical Sketches, cases appeared in other corps of the Indian army, and many officers as well as men were placed in

quarantine; but it was not till three weeks after that it was observed that Dr. McGrigor ought to be sent thither.

By this time I had had many interviews not only with the Commander-in-chief and all the heads of departments, but with almost every individual medical officer of the army in Egypt. By the blessing of Providence alone it was that I escaped; and I believe that after I made report to Sir David Baird I had not the least alarm or fear. At any rate, it was evident, after what had happened during the three weeks, it was useless to place me in quarantine, and the intention was, I believe, never entertained.

CHAP. VIII.

Orders to return from Egypt to India.—Re-crosses the Desert.—Jealous Ferocity of Mussulmen towards Women, and Abhorrence of Christians in general.—Project of visiting the Holy Land defeated.—Perilous Fording of the Red Sea.—Renewed Appearance of the Plague.—Quarantine at Butcher's Island, off Bombay. — Appointment by the East India Company. — Orders for Return to England. — Voyage. — Successful Stratagem against Privateers. — Arrival at Bantry Bay. — Reaches London.

At length, intelligence reached us from Europe that hostilities with France had ceased; that negotiations were being carried on, and that peace might with certainty be looked for. In no long time after this, orders were received by Lord Cavan, then in command in Egypt, from General Fox, at Malta, — who had the general command in the Mediterranean,—that we were to evacuate Egypt, and that the greater part of the English troops composing the Egyptian expedition, from India, were not to return thither. My regiment, the 88th, was specified as one of those which were to return to England. This was no pleasant intelligence to me.

At length the order was given for the portion of the Indian army which was to return to Europe to join the English army under Lord Cavan. Among them, that

part of my corps, the 88th, which had come from India, the 10th, 84th, and 86th, with the 8th Dragoons, were ordered to return to India, under Sir David Baird. As superintending surgeon, I was ordered to return, and as head of the department to remain in India until the final audit of the public accounts, agreeably to the usage of the Company's service. The place of my residence ought to have been for that period the seat of the supreme government, Calcutta; but, by the interposition of my excellent friend Sir David Baird, I was permitted to reside at Bombay. This was a great accommodation to me, not only on account of my having left the principal part of my baggage at Bombay, on the regiment being suddenly ordered from thence; but because at Bombay there were two companies of my regiment, and among the officers, the paymaster, Mr. Duncan Campbell, my assistant, Mr. Bruce, and some others of my old and esteemed friends.

Having taken leave of my friends in Alexandria, I embarked in a djerm which I had hired; got well over the bar of Rosetta; halted a day opposite that place, and from thence sailed up the Nile to Cairo; near which I found that most of the army ordered to return to India had arrived, and were encamped in the neighbourhood, near the road which passes the Desert to Suez. After organising the medical department of the remainder of the Indian-Egyptian army, we prepared for our journey across the Desert; and such

precautions were taken for our march, by our vigilant commander, Baird, that its success was ensured.

At this time an extraordinary incident occurred. I believe, on the day before we commenced our march, all the troops mustered for inspection by the General; and a few only who were sick, or the servants of the officers, and some females who followed the army, remained in their tents. My ears were suddenly assailed by female cries and violent lamentation, and when I came out of my tent I saw three female Greeks or Circassians pursued by Turks on horseback. They had got close to the women, at whom one of them made a cut with his scimitar, while the others presented pistols at them. Without hesitation I and my servant interfered; and the servant putting a loaded pistol into my hand, I presented it at the nearest Turkish horseman. He then pulled up, and finally galloped off, when I and my servant, who quickly brought our horses, chased these ruffians out of the camp, but somewhat inconsiderately; for being more than a match for us two, when near the confines of the camp, and far from further assistance, they might have turned back, and have overpowered us. They were all of them young and powerful men, and most fully armed; but they rode off, swift as the wind.

On returning to the camp, where a crowd was collected about the three females, we found the cause of the

attack of the Turks to be this:—These females, like many others, the wives or mistresses of Turks, had been taken from the Turks by the French, or had attached themselves to them on their taking possession of the country. When the English overthrew the French, these ladies were part of the booty, or chose to follow the fortunes of the English conquerors. The three females in question had lived as the *chères amies* of three English officers who had been ordered to England.

The Turks near Alexandria and Rosetta as well as in other places where they could find them, had seized a great number of females similarly situated, and the punishment which they mercilessly inflicted upon every female they found, was to place her in a sack, the mouth of which they tied up, and then throw her into the Nile. The corpses of numbers of these poor wretches were cast on shore on the banks of the river. The reason assigned by the Turks was, that they had lived with infidel dogs. The three ladies in question were youthful, and had no small share of personal beauty. An officer carried one of them to Bengal, and another gentleman, by no means of young or tender years, took not only one but both the others with him to India; and I was delighted to be thus readily relieved of a charge which I had brought unwittingly upon myself.

Soon after this, I met with an instance which showed that, however much the Turks and Egyptians at this

time valued our assistance in ridding them of the French, yet, as Mahomedans, they viewed us and our religion with abhorrence. When I was about to leave the 88th Regiment at Alexandria, and return to India by Cairo, Major Vandeleur requested me to take with me on the djerm, along with my servants, to Cairo, a fine lad, his servant, whom he had engaged there. As the Major was returning to England, he wished Mahomet to go back to his friends.

Several days after embarkation from Suez, and when we were many leagues on the Red Sea, on our route to Bombay, the captain of the transport reproached me one day on the deck with not having given a correct account of all the servants I had embarked with me. He stated that he had one more to provision than appeared in the statement which I had given in. I assured him with confidence that my account of the number of my servants was correct, upon which he desired the sailors to bring forward a man: when to my astonishment I saw standing before me, Mahomet, the lad whom Major Vandeleur had sent up with me from Alexandria. He told his story before the captain of the ship, and all the officers on board, which was as follows: — When on landing at Cairo I paid him the wages due to him by Major Vandeleur, he went to his father's house, where he met with the worst reception from his father, mother, and all his kindred. They beat him unmercifully, and treated him most

harshly, for having lived with Christian dogs, upon which he ran off to my servants in camp, who secreted him carefully till our arrival at Suez, when they smuggled him on board of ship, stowing him away in the hold, where he was discovered on their clearing away to get at some water casks. Mahomet continued in my service while I remained at Bombay; and when I was about to embark for England, I offered either to get him a good master at Bombay, or to be at the expense of conveying him to Egypt; but he entreated so hard to be permitted to accompany me to England, that I assented. He there continued for several years; when he married a Portuguese woman. They afterwards kept a public house at Lisbon, where they perhaps are while I am writing this.

Many other instances came to my knowledge, of the tenacity of the Mussulmen to their religion, and of their abhorrence of Christians.

Till the period of our embarkation we were encamped close to the place known by the name of Moses' Well, of which the natives have a tradition, that it is the spot opposite to that by which the Israelites crossed the Red Sea, when pursued by Pharaoh and his host. The country near us on every side was a complete desert. We were within distinct view of Mount Horeb and Mount Sinai.

Two other officers formed with me a plan to visit Mount Sinai. The distinctness with which we saw it

every morning and its apparently short distance were tantalising; and after much discussion, day after day, we decided on setting out on our expedition. On making inquiry of some Arabs, who we found had been there, they informed us that the distance was considerably greater than we imagined, and that it was by no means free from danger; for our journey would come to the knowledge of a predatory tribe which would certainly attack us. We decided that we would go well prepared for this; but while we were making our preparations, orders arrived for the army to embark in a few days. This much disconcerted us all; we thought we could accomplish the journey, and return before the embarkation, if no obstacles occurred. However, the chance of these, and the situation we should have been in if the fleet should sail, and leave us behind, alarmed us all, and deterred us from making the attempt. As it afterwards happened, we might have easily got to the top of Mount Sinai and returned before the sailing of the fleet. This was afterwards the source of bitter reflection to me, as I had lost a chance such as I could never hope to have again of visiting Mounts Sinai and Horeb; I lost a similar chance of visiting other parts of the Holy Land, which I had proposed to visit with two other officers when in Egypt. This journey had been suggested to me by a friend, an officer of artillery, with whom I passed many evenings talking of it while in Egypt. He

afterwards published an account of his travels in that country.

A day or two after the Mount Sinai party had been abandoned, I projected with my friend Dr. Dick, of the 80th Regiment, to go round the extremity of the Red Sea, and visit Suez, once a place of celebrity, and which from its situation may become so again.

Dr. Dick and I set off in the morning after an early breakfast, thinking we could get something for luncheon at Suez, and then return to a dinner ordered for both of us at my tent at Moses' Well. We set off accordingly, had a pleasant ride along the beach, and when we observed it muddy, struck off across the sands, till we came nearly opposite to Suez. We went on for some time, and being engaged in conversation, observed nothing to the right or left, and never looked to the rear; but at length Dr. Dick cried out in alarm to me, that the tide was fast gaining upon us. We turned towards the rear, and to the route by which we had advanced, but found that in that direction our retreat was cut off by a large body of water. We saw the tide advancing fast, and galloped on to a rising ground, which we discerned at some distance before us, and which appeared to us to be connected with the town of Suez. We soon gained the highest point, and to our dismay and horror, when we had attained the top of this high sand bank, we found that a body of water intervened between us

and Suez, so high that we saw the masts of two or three small vessels at anchor in it, and the tide advancing with velocity through this channel. For a moment our spirits forsook us, and we gave ourselves up to despair; but an over-ruling Providence decided that we should be spared when no help seemed at hand, and when our condition appeared to be without hope. We had not been on the top of the sand bank on horse back but a few minutes, when we could see that we were observed, and that many Arabs ran out from Suez, seeing our desperate situation. They called loudly to us, but we could understand nothing by their cries. They pointed to the water, and we immediately rode down the bank, plunged our horses (which were powerful English horses), into the stream, and the noble animals, although carried downwards some way by the strong tide, gained the opposite bank. On feeling that he was getting a footing, my very powerful horse, John Bull, which had been the charger of an officer of the 23rd Dragoons, made a leap for the land. Unfortunately, the shore being very muddy, he sunk deep into the mud, made several unsuccessful struggles to extricate himself, and appeared to sink deeper still. I now felt my situation was more perilous than ever, and was astounded by the cries of a number of the Arabs from Suez, who advised something, which I could not understand. I essayed to get upon the saddle, and attempted

to jump from thence to the shore; but before I could effect this, and before I had quitted the saddle, John Bull made one more furious exertion, extricated himself, and reached terra firma in a state of great exhaustion.*

We got a little refreshment at Suez, and would have remained for the night; but certain appearances, and a report that some very ill-disposed people were there, made us determine when we had well fed our horses, to return to Moses' Well. We therefore set out, going quite round

* An incident somewhat similar to the above is described by Alison as occurring to Napoleon I.

"Meanwhile, Napoleon made an expedition in person to Suez, in order to inspect the line of the Roman Canal, which united the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. At Suez he visited the harbour, gave orders for the construction of new works, and the formation of an infant marine; and passed the Red Sea, in a dry channel, when the tide was out, on the identical passage which had been traversed three thousand years before, by the children of Israel. Having refreshed himself at the fountains which still bear the name of the Wells of Moses, at the foot of Mount Sinai, and visited a great reservoir, constructed by the Venetians in the sixteenth century, he returned to recross to the African side. It was dark when he reached the shore; and in crossing the sands, as the tide was flowing, they wandered from the right path, and were for some time exposed to the most imminent danger. Already the water was up to their middle, and still rapidly flowing, when the presence of mind of Napoleon extricated them from their perilous situation. He caused one of his escort to go in every direction, and shout when he found the depth of water increasing, and that he had lost his footing; by this means it was discovered in what quarter the slope of the shore descended, and the party at length gained the coast of Egypt. 'Had I perished in that manner like Pharaoh,' said Napoleon, 'it would have furnished all the preachers of Christendom with a magnificent text against me.'" —*Alison*, vol. iii. p. 464.

the extremity of the Red Sea. The journey proved altogether a very long and toilsome one, and one very hard upon our horses, although two of the best in the army, certainly of the best mettle. Not long after we had turned the extremity of the Red Sea, to which we now gave a very wide berth, my companion complained much of fatigue and faintness. We sat down and rested, when we took a small portion of brandy, which we carried with us; but seeing at a little distance two Arabs of a very suspicious appearance, lurking about us, and fearing they might be supported by others, who knew our condition, we got up, mounted our jaded animals, and spurred them on at a quick pace. In no long time, however, Dr. Dick told me he was so faint that he must rest. He was extremely thirsty, but our canteen of cold tea, which we carried with us, was now exhausted. On my representing to him that we had not much of our journey to accomplish, and that I feared the suspicious looking Arabs, whom we had seen, were probably at no great distance, he again remounted, and we rode off. However, after this, I was repeatedly obliged to stop and rest with Dr. Dick. He was so much exhausted, that I became alarmed, and at length I determined to leave him with the little remains of our flask of brandy, and ride to the camp, to procure assistance to bring him in. I found that John Bull, when smartly spurred, could carry me well. I set off at a very quick pace, and very soon reached the

camp. As it became dark, I first sent out a party on horseback with a little food and cordials, directing them to be very sparing in their use, and then I sent six men with a dooley to bring in my friend. When he arrived, I had the satisfaction to see him well cared for, and on the following day complaining of nothing but sore bones.

Just as the whole army was about to go on board, and the last corps, the 7th Bombay Native Infantry, which formed the rear guard of the army, and had remained behind to bring up all stragglers, had reached the last stage, the one next to our encampment after crossing the desert, Colonel Holmes who commanded, sent in a report that a case of plague had appeared in one of the followers. This was very annoying and distressing to Sir David Baird, as no case had appeared of this horrible disease for a long time, and I had assured him the army might be said to have embarked with a clean bill of health, free from the disease, and ready to join the army at each of the Presidencies on their arrival in India, without the very troublesome process of undergoing quarantine. I met the adjutant-general and quarter-master general at Sir David's tent, and, after some consultation, I offered to go a stage back in the desert, to Colonel Holmes's camp, and inspect the state of health there. As the weather was fine, and I knew the way, I set off alone, without making much preparation for the journey. I started at a very early

hour in the morning, while it was almost cold with the damp night air, and got to Colonel Holmes's (afterwards Sir George Holmes) encampment to a late breakfast. The middle of the day had passed before I had executed my duty of a health inspection, and the Colonel remonstrated against my setting off with a meridian sun striking on my head, urging me to delay my return till about sunset, when he would send an escort with me, and himself ride part of the way with me. However, being eager to return in the least possible time, as I knew the anxiety Sir David would feel to see me, and that on the opinion I should give he would shape the measures he would take with the army, I set off. I soon began to feel the effect of the sun, and John Bull showed symptoms of fatigue, although I had him well fed at the camp. We both soon felt thirst, and in an extreme degree. At length we got to the only well in this desert, but there was merely a little brackish water therein, and it was thick with mud and the dung of camels. At the well, I found some Arabs, with their camels spouting some of the mixture of mud and water from their mouths. It was altogether so filthy, that in England, a thirsty beggar would have turned away with disgust from it. However, so extreme was the thirst of poor John Bull and myself, that we both eagerly stooped to get at some of it, mixed with mud and filth as it was. I stooped on my hands and knees, endeavouring to separate a little of it

from the mud in the hollow of my hand. Having obtained as much as I could, for myself and steed, I set off, but soon found my thirst again excessive; I think it was rather increased by the brackish water which I had drunk. The heat of the sun was overpowering. I had recourse to a pebble in my mouth, which I think rather allayed my thirst; but my horse could scarcely struggle on from fatigue; in fact, he at last appeared to be worn out; when at sunset I saw the tents at a distance. I made for that of my friend Colonel Macquarrie, threw myself on a sofa, and demanded a cup of tea. When a little recovered, I was about to go to Sir David, when he entered the tent accompanied by Colonel (afterwards Sir John Murray), the quartermaster general. I related to him the condition of the Sepoy regiment, and gave my opinion that even should no other case of the plague appear in their camp, it was proper that they should remain six weeks in quarantine, and that no communication should be held with them. Much inconvenience was felt at this state of things. However, Sir David determined on immediately embarking the rest of the army, and forwarding them to their respective Presidencies, leaving the 7th Bombay Regiment with a portion of the commissariat behind.

Embarkation accordingly commenced, and in no long time we were all under way. In the transport in which I sailed, I had the company of my friends Colonel Sir John Murray, Macquarrie, and Torrens, and we had

also embarked with us a large body of volunteers from the German Legion, for various corps in India.

Nothing worthy of remark occurred till we reached Mocha, the place appointed for our rendezvous, where we found the whole of the fleet at anchor. I went ashore the day after we had dropped anchor, in company with Colonels Murray, Macquarrie, and Torrens. We met Major (afterwards Sir Henry) Torrens of the 86th, and we made a party to dine together on shore after walking about the town. The day was the most intolerably hot one I ever experienced during my life. On returning on board we were all fatigued and exhausted in an extraordinary degree, but, as I learned a few days afterwards, Colonel Torrens was alarmingly so; fever, affecting the brain, was the consequence, and he did not recover from its effects for nearly a year.

Intelligence of the state of the 1st Bombay Native Regiment having reached India, notice was sent to Sir David Baird, that Butcher's Island near Bombay having been appointed a quarantine station, every corps was to rendezvous there. At the same time, a notification came to Sir David Baird, that at the recommendation of the medical board of Bombay, I had been appointed superintendant of quarantine; that I was to be stationed on the island to make all arrangements for encamping the troops if necessary; and that a commander of the company's marine, was to be stationed, with a sloop of war, off the island, to enforce the quarantine

regulation. This intelligence was most gratifying to me, and to my friend. It was the second liberal act to me of the Bombay Medical Board, and both were without a precedent towards a King's medical officer. Indeed, considering that they were departing from the established regulation, and conferring on me appointments which might be said to belong of right to their own service only, the acts were generous in the extreme. But the board had heard of my regiment having been ordered from Egypt to England. They knew this would be a great loss to me, and as my appointment of superintending surgeon must cease on my arrival in India, they took this means of retaining me in the country, until I should be able to effect an exchange with the surgeon of some of the King's regiments in India. This was not all. Colonel Carr, the auditor-general to the army in the Bombay Presidency, gave me an order to remain at Bombay for twelve months, till all the hospital accounts of the Egyptian army should be finally audited.

After watering, and taking in coffee for breakfast, a stock of honey, and some fruit, at Mocha, the fleet again got under way, and our voyage through the Straits of Babelmandel to our destination was a prosperous one. The weather was uncommonly fine, and the time passed merrily on board our transport. The 100 German volunteers on board for the Company's service, did much to cheer us in our passage. A few of them

performed on musical instruments, and I believe all of them without exception were vocal performers, so that we were never without a concert. Every evening they sang in parts, and their native German airs extremely well.

On casting anchor off Butcher's Island, the instructions of Government were sent to me through the Medical Board at Bombay. I was directed to take up my residence on the island, being the only inhabitant there, to take upon me the quarantine duties, and to act in concert with the Captain of the Company's marine, whose sloop of war was at anchor close to the shore.

As the different vessels of our fleet came to anchor off the island, I had to go on board and inspect the health of the troops. At first, most of the vessels remained a few days at anchor off the island, but latterly they got under way as soon as inspected, for Ceylon, Madras, or Calcutta. I had to disembark only a few companies of one regiment, of which I entertained suspicions; but after encamping a few days on the island, no disease appearing, they were re-embarked, and proceeded to their destination. I made daily reports to the secretary of the medical board. My communications were forwarded with due precautions through a small vessel which was sent to the Captain of the sloop of war, and through him to me, every morning. By this means I daily received my letters, and what stores I required, with my victuals. My friend Mr. Duncan

Campbell, paymaster of the 88th Regiment, kindly acted as my agent on shore, and let me want for nothing; and although I had no person on the island but my servants, I felt nothing like desolation during the several weeks that I remained on Butcher's Island. I had my books (very numerous) sent to me by Mr. Campbell. My friend the captain of the sloop of war, came daily on shore for a walk on the island, when the weather would permit, and he and I lived in a kind of mess together, if alternately dining with each other every day in the week could be so termed.

So passed several weeks by no means unpleasantly, for I read much, and in my naval friend had a pleasant well-informed companion in our dinners and walks.

At length orders came to break up the quarantine establishment, and I went to Bombay, where I took charge of the hospital of the 88th Regiment in the island of Colabah, from my assistant the late Mr. Bruce of the military college, and joined in a mess with my old and respected friend Mr. Duncan Campbell, paymaster of the 88th Regiment. After my return to Bombay, I was received by many of my friends with warm hospitality, particularly by my professional brethren, and especially by my much esteemed friend Dr. Helenus Scott. We instituted together many experiments with his favourite remedy, then in vogue, the nitro-muriatic-acid bath.*

* Of the resort to this specific at that time in Bombay, adverted to by

At length, orders arrived for the return of the two companies of the 88th Regiment, to join head quarters in England. Our voyage went on prosperously till we began to approach the latitude of the Cape, to the southward of which we steered considerably, and there met with one of the terrible typhoons which happen in that latitude. Off the Malabar coast we had taken in a stock of vegetables and fruits, which lasted us till we landed off Simons Town, in safety and health. From thence we travelled in waggons to Cape Town. At Simons Town, I met the Captain of a Danish Indiaman, a pleasant and well informed gentleman, and with him I proceeded to Constantia, and viewed the manufacture of the famed Constantia wine, the whole of which was explained to us by the proprietors of the so famed Kleine (little) Constantia farms. We sojourned with our Danish friend, a day.

At Cape Town, we found Admiral Lenois, with the French troops, sent out at the conclusion of the war to re-occupy the French possessions, which on the peace had been restored to them. Captain Gordon of the navy, and myself, attired in our uniforms, paid our respects to the French General in command, and likewise to Admiral Lenois on board his ship; and were

the author, mention is made in the Wellington Despatches in the following words: — "I have had no fever since I saw you, but I am sorry to say that the breaking out of which I complained is worse than it was; and has become so bad, as to induce Mr. Scott to order me to begin a course of nitrous baths." —*Duke of Wellington's Despatches*, No. 29.

received by them and their staff with the courtesy peculiar to their nation. Understanding that I had been with the British army in Egypt, the questions he put to me were numerous.

On learning that we were about to return to England, the Admiral and General requested I would take charge of some public despatches, and leave them at the house of the French ambassador in London, who would forward them to his own government at Paris. I readily assented, and some officers of the staff who were with us in the Admiral's cabin begged me to take letters from them for their friends in Paris. I agreed thereto, adding that I would have much pleasure in being the bearer of letters from any of the French officers of their navy or army, who were desirous to write to their friends in Europe, requesting that they would send them to my lodgings in Cape Town. Accordingly, I found a box directed to the address of the French ambassador, of no small magnitude, sent to my care, with polite notes from the Admiral and General.

Having refitted the vessel with some repairs, which the severe gales off the Cape had rendered necessary, and taken in an ample supply of provisions of every kind, with a stock of Constantia wine, we again put to sea, steering for the island of Ascension, where we took on board a stock of turtle.

Hitherto our voyage had been a peaceful one, for we

had sailed in what we imagined a period of profound peace, but in no long time we found this was not the case. We met with an American vessel bound for India, the master of which informed us that the peace had been broken, and that a fierce war was raging between France and England. Knowing that the Americans were prone to what they called hoaxing, we paid little attention to this unpleasant information. In two days afterwards, however, we met another American privateer outward bound, which we hailed, and came close under her quarters. She repeated the same intelligence, giving particulars, so that we could no longer doubt the unpleasant intelligence. Indeed, they gave us a close description of some of the privateers which were directly in our course, and which had been sent out from several of the ports of France, to cruise in the track of ships from India.

Our situation was now a serious one, and Captain Gordon gave it all the consideration which it demanded. He had with him, as passengers in the Cambrian, upwards of fifty sailors sent home from India, as invalids from the fleet. Although invalids, most of these tars were equal to some duty, and every one was anxious to be employed, and have a blow at the Mounseers as they called them. The few guns (we had only six) were brought forward, imperfect as they were. However, Captain Gordon set the carpenters to work to make wooden guns, called quakers, and

in no long time they were painted, with the sides of the ship, so as to make us appear like a frigate. The sailors were daily exercised at the guns, and to go aloft with rapidity. Some alteration was also made in the rigging, to make us look man-of-war-like.

A night or two after these warlike preparations had been commenced, and before they were finished, towards dusk, a very suspicious looking vessel was observed keeping in our wake, and nearly as it became dark, a gun, one of our six, was brought to the stern, shotted, and fired at our pursuer, who was supposed to have sheered off. In the morning, however, the same dark suspicious looking vessel was observed at a considerable distance; and some time after it was discovered that she had a consort of nearly the same size as ourselves. This made Captain Gordon hasten all his preparations for defence, which he did very completely, and in a very seamanlike style.

The quakers on our little deck, as we observed on going out in a boat, made us look very frigate-like, and well armed. Captain Gordon had the sailors of the royal navy dressed, and in trim; and knowing that our two neighbours, which we could not doubt were enemies, had all their glasses out viewing the Cambrian, he made the sailors, lascars and all, amounting to upwards of 100, frequently go up and down the rigging. This made our force appear formidable, while, from the rapidity with which every order was executed, the

enemy could not doubt that our strong crew were men-of-war's men. Captain Gordon paraded the deck in his captain's full naval uniform, the invalid lieutenant of the navy in his, while Mr. Fawcett came on deck dressed in his uniform of a Bombay Light Horse Volunteer, and I paraded in my uniform of the 88th. We joked much together on the appearance we made. Captain Gordon and the navy Lieutenant frequently went aloft, so as to be well seen by our enemies; while three of us in scarlet placed ourselves in various conspicuous situations upon deck, so as to be taken for three marine officers.

Our enemies after approaching us from different quarters, nearing us, and then going off, and having most narrowly examined us, made off in the afternoon, in full sail, on the course we had come, hoping no doubt to be more successful with other vessels of smaller force than they calculated we were.

During the remainder of our voyage, particularly as we approached the chops of the Channel, many smaller vessels neared us, but none of them remained any time, as our frigate-like appearance no doubt deterred them. Much merriment did this excite among the King's sailors, who were daily practised under Captain Gordon and the Lieutenant, at boarding, clearing for action, and exercise at our harmless quarter guns.

The adverse winds and boisterous state of the weather obliged us to seek shelter on the Irish coast, and we

put into Bantry Bay. It would seem that Indiamen had rarely appeared here, for, thinly peopled as the neighbouring country was, the ship and everything about her, and more particularly the lascars we had on board, were as great objects of curiosity to the Irish of this quarter, as Captain Cook and his white sailors were when he first visited the Society Isles.

Daily, while we remained at anchor in Bantry Bay, boats full of the natives crowded on board; their curiosity appeared insatiable. My Egyptian servant, Mahomet, appeared to engage more of their attention than any other individual on board. When we came to anchor, thinking he was at last arrived in England, he dressed himself in his best, and, as at St. Helena, wore his superb turban. From his slender make, effeminate appearance, and his Mussulman dress, he was taken by all for a female, much to the amusement of our sailors. The females who came on board seemed the most impressed with this opinion, and believing him to be of their own sex, the Irish ladies were constantly taking him apart, and treating him as a female, taking no small liberty in examining every part of his dress, much to the annoyance of Mahomet, and greatly to our amusement.

Our passenger, Mrs. Pyne, by our coming unexpectedly into Bantry Bay, was brought close to her home, and Captain Gordon and I conveyed her with her two granddaughters in the launch ten or fifteen miles

up by the bar, or rather loch, to the town of Bantry, where her two maiden sisters resided. At Bantry we found an Irish militia regiment, the officers of which dissuaded me from taking a journey which I intended across the country to Cork. Those gentlemen reported the country in my route to be in so unsettled a state, that without a strong escort I could not proceed with any safety. So, with Captain Gordon, I returned in the boat, and we reached the Cambrian early in the following morning. We soon after sailed for Cork, when I reported myself to the general officer in command, as did Captain Gordon, to the admiral on that station. On the following day, an officer came to me from the admiral with an order that I should deliver up the French despatches in my possession from the Cape of Good Hope, and the letters of the French officers to their friends. On my remonstrating on the impropriety of my giving up the private letters of the officers to their friends, which had been confided to me, and which now perhaps might be published, he told me the admiral's order was peremptory, and that the whole must be given up, as the admiral had determined to send them immediately to his Majesty's ministers.

After taking on board a variety of refreshments, we set sail, and with a favourable wind soon got into the British Channel. A small sloop met us, and on coming on board, the master told us he was from the Downs,

—Deal, if I recollect, and had come to look out for homeward bound Indiamen.

Mr. Fawcett, on finding that we were about fifteen leagues from Weymouth, asked him how much he would take to land himself, his family, and a little of his baggage at Weymouth, while the ship would proceed to London with all the heavy baggage and some of his servants. He at once demanded 100 guineas. Mr. Fawcett immediately refused this. After talking some time, he requested us to see his little vessel, that we might know how he could accommodate us. Captain Gordon and I accompanied Mr. Fawcett. We found the vessel nothing but a large decked-boat. What he called the cabin had room only for three people to sit in, and the hold must have been our habitation, lying upon the shingle with which it was covered as ballast. Before we left the little vessel, the master agreed to take thirty guineas to carry us to Weymouth, and to include me in the conveyance, with Mahomet my servant. We got everything we meant to take with us into the little vessel, and about sunset, set sail for Weymouth, which we reached next day about noon. Besides the valuable trinkets, shawls, &c. which Mr. Fawcett's family carried with them from India to England, every one on board, I believe, went charged by friends in Bombay, with presents for their friends in England. I had a great number of such remembrances from numerous families in Bombay, to friends in

England and Scotland, and before I succeeded in delivering them all, I experienced a world of trouble and expense by my engagement to take charge of them.

When we were coming on shore at the landing place at Weymouth, our appearance, and particularly that of the black servants, collected a large crowd. In the afternoon we set off for London, which I reached in good health after so long an absence.

CHAP. IX.

Sir J. McGrigor publishes his "Medical Sketches of the Expedition from India to Egypt."—Joins the Connaught Rangers at Helsham on their return from the Mediterranean.—Is appointed to the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards Blue.—Takes leave of the Connaught Rangers.—Popularity of a Medical Officer in a Regiment.—Its Conditions.—Outbreak of Gangrene.—Orders for Windsor.—Anecdotes of his late Majesty George III.

HAVING called upon, and visited most of my old friends, I waited upon the Colonel of the 88th Regiment—General Reid—to report myself; and obtain some leave of absence; for I had now to return to my rank of regimental surgeon. I was most kindly received by that fine old gentleman*, who told me that the 88th Regiment would return in a few months to this country from the Mediterranean, and that I might spend the intervening time with my friends in Scotland, or as I pleased. General Reid was famed in his day as a musician of no mean ability; he was ardently fond of music, particularly of military music, and was the author and composer of the fine old song; "In the Garb of Old Gaul."

I have said that after my return from Egypt to Bombay, having but a small charge of sick, I

* See Appendix B.

had much leisure time on my hands. At Bombay, as well as on my passage homewards, I employed some of that time in compiling from my notes, and from public documents to which I had access, an account of the medical transactions of the army, from India to Egypt. This I did for my amusement, and to pass away time. On mentioning to my friend Sir Walter Farquhar, in London, what I had done, he expressed a desire to see the manuscript. Sir Walter showed it to the late Sir Gilbert Blane, who strongly urged me to publish it, as the public had no account of it from any quarter; and he said it was particularly desirable they should know what had been done at the time of the plague. I hesitated, because I thought it was understood that my friend the late Dr. Buchan, then physician to the forces, who had nobly volunteered his services in the pest hospital at a time of general consternation, and when several medical officers died of plague, would give a full account of it. I felt assured that if Dr. Buchan undertook the task, it would be in much better hands than mine. From his very extensive reading, from his thorough acquaintance with every author, ancient or modern, who had written on the subject, and from his habits of study and reflection, he was of all men the fittest for the task. He was a man of close observation, cautious in induction, and he had a store of facts derived from reading and observation, which he brought to bear on any sub-

ject that came before him. It was said by some, that Dr. Buchan, from too much reading, was over cautious in practice, sceptical in his opinion of remedies, and that his practice was sometimes inert. But Dr. Buchan was a first-rate practitioner, a most honourable man, and was possessed of some of the highest qualities of the head and heart. I immediately communicated with Dr. Buchan, informed him of the nature of my papers, and the recommendations with which I was pressed to publish them; but apprised him, that if he intended to publish on the same subject, I would abandon my intention. Dr. Buchan informed me that he had a mass of papers on plague, and on the other diseases he had met with in Egypt and the Mediterranean, which he might at a future period give to the world. He said that he had not yet entirely made up his mind upon the subject, but that, at any rate, some years would elapse before such a work could be completed. He added, that, as my plan was different from his, and as I did not appear to contemplate giving a complete history of the plague, or of any other disease, he trusted I would go on with my work.

I joined my regiment at Helsham in Sussex. Our quarter was a miserable one, at least to my eyes. The country was bleak, cold, and uncomfortable; but we passed a winter in it.

At this time, when Napoleon threatened invasion, the Sussex, Kent, and Hampshire coasts were crowded with

troops. I, however, soon got abundance of occupation; for the 88th Regiment became unhealthy, particularly the many new recruits which we received from Ireland; and I found the duty irksome and heavy, without an assistant; for my friend Bruce was still in India. I believe I further felt the descent in position, from having been a commanding officer in Egypt. It was suggested to me, that I would have an easier life in a heavy dragoon regiment; the men of which were generally healthy; and in no long time after, I found myself gazetted to the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards Blue, the successor of Dr. Hussey; who had rather unusually been promoted from the surgeoncy of the Blues to be Deputy Inspector of hospitals, without having passed through the intermediate ranks. In February 1804, with the most profound regret, I took leave of my old friends the Connaught Rangers, and joined the Blues, then quartered in Canterbury.

I had been eleven years with the Connaught Rangers, and, as I have said, on entering the corps, I was the only Scotch officer in it. The commanding officer, Colonel Keppel, and the paymaster, were the only Englishmen; all the other officers were Irish, almost all of them from the county of Galway, and a more pleasant and gentleman-like corps was not to be found in the British army. They were every where noted as a particularly fine and well conducted set of officers. The soldiers of the

corps, like their countrymen in general, were giddy, and, I confess, they committed many irregularities, I might say, a few serious crimes; but they were an affectionate, kind-hearted body of men, and attached and submissive to their officers in a degree which I never saw in an English or Scottish regiment. During the eleven years that I had served with these poor fellows, I had travelled over much ground with them, and served in a variety of climates. I had seen them march in the face of an enemy, and admired their gallantry and undaunted courage. There were few of them, as also of their wives and children who had not been sick and under my care during the eleven years; and I ever found them not only grateful and respectful in the highest degree, but truly affectionate towards me. They were ever ready to serve me, and of their attachment I had many convincing proofs.

From ample experience, and what I have seen in a very long service in the army, I am enabled to say, that it is greatly the fault of a medical officer if he become not the favourite of both the men and officers of a regiment. He has a thousand opportunities of ingratiating himself by a kind and humane manner in the discharge of his duties, and when he does so, they never fail to prove grateful to him.

At the same time, I never found that gratitude was ensured by conduct such as I have seen pursued, though by a very few medical officers only. I allude

especially to instances where their attentions are excessive to the military officers, by taking upon themselves all the duties of the orderlies and the nurse, as well as those of the physician and surgeon. This conduct I never observed to be highly appreciated. It begets loss of respect, and always demeans the medical officer.

As far as my observation goes, the gratitude of the soldier to the doctor lasts longer than that of the military officer.

Soon after my arrival in Canterbury, Colonel Dorrien, a rigid disciplinarian, made me appear accoutered as an officer of the corps; and when I presented myself in the ancient costume of that distinguished old corps — the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards Blue — I burst into a laugh at my own appearance, equipped as I was with a broad buff belt, jack boots that came high up my thighs, and stout leather gloves which reached nearly to my elbows, with a large, fierce looking cocked hat, and a sword of great weight, as well as length.

Among the officers of this regiment were the sons of the nobility, and also of the most opulent men in the kingdom. All of them were men of polished manners, and several of great information, and with a university education. But I found that the officers of this corps were not so much imbued with the military sentiment, as were those of many other cavalry regiments. Several

of them had no intention to follow the military profession. Heirs to large properties, they had been placed in the Blues for a few years to learn life, and see a little of the world; then to retire and take charge of their own estates.

A little before I joined the Blues, my medical sketch on the expedition from India to Egypt made its appearance. It was my first and last work.* It is true that before and after that time, I sent papers to the periodical journals, and always with my name; for I had ever a dislike to anonymous writing, which I had associated with something discreditable to open dealing, and that sense of honour which I found so highly regarded in the army.

My hospital in the Blues was a small one, and the fine body of men which composed the corps was in general very healthy. However, a few months after I joined the corps, gangrene made its appearance in the hospital, and ran rapidly through most of the patients in hospital. Every, even the slightest surgical case or contusion, where venesection had been performed, or a blister applied, developed hospital gangrene. The hospital was too small and ill-ventilated for the number of such cases as were sent to it, and I had applied for another building, when a route arrived for the regiment to march to Windsor, to do duty near the king and royal family.

* See Appendix C.

At Windsor we got rid of both typhus fever and hospital gangrene; not a case of the former having appeared after we left Canterbury. Gangrene however lingered with us for some time after we got to Windsor. The hospital was large and roomy, and by moving the men from one ward to another, changing the atmosphere, and destroying all the sponges used in dressing, together with other precautions, we finally got rid of the disease.

We had not been long at Windsor before the corps was honoured by royal notice. The king had the regiment inspected on Winkfield Plain, once and again, and expressed his greatest satisfaction with the men to Colonel Dorrien. He even came to our morning parades at the barracks, and at length signified his desire to have a troop in the corps, of which he would be the captain, and which should be denominated the King's Troop. He made various changes of men and horses in this troop, according to his fancy, and he came not unfrequently to the barracks to inspect his own troop, as their captain; and by questioning the men, he had by heart the name not only of every man, his country, and history; but I believe also that of all the women and children in his troop. One morning, after the regiment had returned from a field day on Winkfield Plain, and when the officers were at breakfast in the mess-room, the trumpet sounded; and immediately, the king with a train of attendants was seen on

horseback in the barrack square. The officers ran hastily out of the mess room, and men and officers were formed in the square. At this moment, I was at breakfast in my own apartment, which was immediately over the mess-room. I had disengaged myself from the huge heavy regimental jack boots, and had my feet in a pair of Morocco slippers. Finding the officers and regiment not yet all assembled in the square with his majesty, I came down to the mess-room, and took up the gazette to look at it. While looking over it, his majesty, accompanied by the late General Gordon, entered the mess-room, unobserved by me, by one of the doors which communicated with the riding school, and the first notice I had of the king's presence was his passing the well-furnished side table, and the various articles on it, with the remark, "Look Gordon, abundant breakfast! excellent breakfast! cold beef, venison pasty, ham, and game!" and turning to the table; "tea, coffee, eggs, beaf-steaks, hi, hi, excellent breakfast, Gordon!" My astonishment may be imagined, when I took my eyes off the gazette, and found that by his majesty's advance my retreat was cut off from the door by which I had entered the mess-room. When the king came up to me, I could only bow profoundly, in my slippers; the king only said "reading the gazette!" and walking round the other side of the table went out at the same door by which he entered. I ran up stairs to my apartment and saw the king

inspect the whole regiment, which by this time was draw up for his inspection.

Some days after this, his majesty was present at one of our field-days on Winkfield-plain, when I was honoured with his majesty's notice; and on the regiment returning to Windsor, I had the honour of conversing with him all the way homeward, until he turned off with his suite to the castle. In this, and on other occasions, when I was honoured with his notice, I found him fully acquainted with all my services. I was questioned by him about the continent, when I served under the Duke of York. He asked me about the state of slavery in the West Indies, about India, and made many inquiries about Egypt. About this latter country I likewise found the Duke of Kent inquisitive, and well informed. His royal highness was on a visit to the castle, and accompanied his majesty in several of his visits to the barracks of the Blues.

During the time the regiment was at Windsor, the grand installation of knights of the garter took place at St. George's Chapel, and after a preparation of several weeks grand entertainments were given in the castle to the principal of the nobility. After the installation, I had the honour, with several officers of the Blues, to dine at the royal table, and surely nothing was ever more splendid than the assemblage.

After this, the queen gave a series of balls, two of them at the castle, and one of them at Frogmore, and

I was honoured by invitations to all of them; but military etiquette interfered to annoy me not a little.

In the first ball at the castle, I appeared in what seemed to me the proper dress for me,—the uniform appointed for me by his royal highness the Duke of York, commander-in-chief of the army. In the course of the evening, I observed that his majesty had eyed my dress much. On the following morning, Colonel Dorrien, who had acted as silver stick, informed me that his majesty had noticed that I had appeared at the ball not in the full dress of the corps. When I stated to the colonel that the dress I had appeared in was that appointed by the regulations for the surgeon of the corps, Colonel Dorrien expressed his satisfaction. Thinking I was quite correct, I appeared at the second court ball in my uniform as surgeon, which was without lace and without a sash. Colonel Dorrien sent for me on the following morning to express to me his majesty's dissatisfaction, that I should have appeared at the ball in any other than in a full dress suit of the uniform of the regiment; and the colonel said that, if invited again, he recommended that I should either go in a full dress suit, or not go at all. For the third time I received, through the vice-chamberlain, his majesty's commands to a ball at the castle, when I determined to appear dressed according to the desire of his majesty. The full dress of the officers of the Blues was a splendid, I may say, a gorgeous one, and very expen-

sive; the coat alone, I believe, cost twenty-eight guineas. I therefore borrowed the coat and sash of my friend Captain Kingsby, and my appearance seemed to be to the satisfaction of the King, but not so of the Duke of York. I happened to stand opposite to him for some time, looking on at a dance, and he appeared to eye my dress so curiously, that I felt as if he had said: How came you here not dressed according to the regulations? On mentioning this to Sir Henry Torrens, who was present, he promised to explain to the commander-in-chief why I appeared as I did, and that it was by express desire of the king.

At these royal balls, as well as at the installation, I saw the late Queen Caroline — then Princess of Wales. At the balls, she did not dance, although I believe all the other princesses did; but she sat by herself, retired in one part of the ball-room, much the picture of discontent. At the time, I observed, that not many of the nobility went up to speak to her. At the installation, she sat with the other female branches of the royal family, and with some of the female nobility, in seats near and over the altar. In the imposing ceremonial, when three of the knights of the garter advance to the music of a march, from under the organ gallery to the altar, making their obeisance as they advance at different stages, the king's graceful manner was much admired, and almost applauded. The old Duke of Gloucester was likewise much admired, as

were the Dukes of York, Cumberland, and Beaufort; but when the Prince of Wales advanced, the admiration, particularly of the ladies, was extreme; and it was feared this would have burst forth into something like applause. Those who watched the countenance of the Princess of Wales said they saw tears in her eyes.

Not long after this period, his majesty began to suffer much from inflammation of the eyes, and his medical attendants ordered his removal from Windsor to Weymouth, for sea air. On the Sunday afternoon, before the departure of the Court, the king, with all the royal family, promenaded, as was usual on Sundays, upon the terrace,—the military band playing to crowds of fashionables, who in those days came in numbers from town to this loyal sight. On that afternoon, the whole of the officers of the Blues made a point of attending, and the majority of them were at one part of the terrace, when the king, followed by the queen and princesses, passed. His majesty graciously noticed us all. I stood last, at the extremity of our line; and the king, from under a green shade which he wore over his eyes, looked me full in the face. I expressed my regret to see his majesty suffering in his eyes. "Aye, aye," replied he, "this is one of the fruits of the expedition to Egypt." After this time I never again saw George the Third. Not one of his subjects had a more benevolent disposition, or a kinder heart; and he possessed greater talents than the world attributed to him. I believe

that not long after this, the symptoms of his mental malady reappeared.

I must mention another incident about his majesty. My friend, the late Mr. Fawcett, the head of an eminent mercantile house in Bombay, being desirous to see the Sunday promenade of the royal family on the terrace at Windsor, I accompanied him, leading his son, a boy of six years of age, by the hand. When we came up to the spot where his majesty was standing, he noticed the boy as a fine child, and asked if he was my son. I replied he was not, and said he was the son of the gentleman who stood next to me, and was born in India. The king immediately called the attention of the queen to him, saying, "Look at this fine boy; he is a native of India." The boy immediately called out, "Are you the king?" "Yes," replied his majesty; "look at me, look at me." This boy subsequently entered the Bombay army, and is, at the time of my writing these lines, Colonel Fawcett, on the retired list of the Bombay army.

A few months before this time, I had hooping cough, and in a very severe degree. My having it at my period of life, and my being frequently seized with attacks of it in the street became a subject of conversation in so small a town as Windsor, and I was surprised one morning by my friend Dr. Lind, librarian to the queen, calling upon me. He told me he came, by desire of her majesty, to recommend my using oil of amber for

my hooping cough, to be rubbed on the spine. I confess I had no faith in the remedy, and did not use it; but my cough continuing inveterate, and inducing much determination of blood to the head, I took my friend Dr. Lind's advice of change of air, and moved from the fine clear air of the neighbourhood of Windsor to the close confined air of a narrow street in the Strand; where, in the course of ten days, my cough entirely left me.

CHAP. X.

Promoted by Mr. Dundas, to the Head of a Board, in a proposed fourth Presidency in India.—Political Partisanship provoked by the Promotion. — Sir James declines it. — Strange Incident respecting the Loss of Mrs. Dundas. — Gazetted as Deputy Inspector of Hospitals. — Mr. Francis Knight, his Character, &c. — Office of Inspector-General. — Regimental and General Hospitals. — Improvement in the Medical Officers of the Army.—Sir James's incipient Views on Army Medical Reform. — Deputy Inspector in the Northern District. — Head Quarters at Beverley, Yorkshire. — Introduces many Reforms in the Military Hospitals. — Treatment of Typhus Fever and Ulcerated Legs. — Sir Everard Home, and Drs. Currie, Jackson, and Baynton. — Excitement in York on the Death of a Soldier from Typhus. —Bad Feeling in York against the Government.— Promotion from the York to the South West District. — Low State of the Medical Profession in the Army at that Time. — Great Facilities for their Self-Improvement.—Comparative Advantages of the Civil and Military Practitioner.—Great Progress in the Army Medical Profession during the last forty Years. — Temptation of the Young Medical Officer at Mess. — Sir James's Devices to escape them. — His studious Habits.

At Windsor the Blues became very healthy, and my duty, with an assistant, Dr. Laing, now professor of surgery at Aberdeen, was very light. I had a good collection of books, and had much leisure for study; while, at the same time, I visited in my daily rides, every remarkable place near Windsor, and also rode to Oxford, where I saw everything of note in that classical place.

I was quartered at Windsor, when I received proposals from my kind friend, Mr. William Dundas, to accompany him to the East.

At that period, when Harry Dundas, afterwards Lord Melville, was at the head of the Board of Control, an idea was entertained of establishing, in addition to Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, a fourth presidency for our dominion in the East, one which would include all the eastern islands; the seat of government to be at Pulo Penang, or Prince of Wales Island. My friend Mr. W. Dundas was to be at the head of the fourth presidency. It was intended that the fourth government should have the same boards and establishments as the other three presidencies, and of course a medical board, at the head of which Mr. Dundas was desirous to have me placed. For this purpose it was necessary that I should quit the king's service, and enter that of the Hon. East India Company. I came to London on the invitation of Mr. Dundas, and obtained what I requested, — a few days to consult my friends; but the proposal was so advantageous, and it held out prospects so much better than I could ever look for in the king's service, that I soon gave in my assent. I even intimated my intentions to my kind friend Mr. Knight, at that time inspector-general at the army medical board.

When the establishment of the new presidency was determined on, the applications for appointments were considerable. Several were made; but many were the

disappointments. When the intention of appointing me to the head of the medical department got wind, there was a great outcry, and not without reason. It was thought unjust that the whole body of the Company's medical officers should be overlooked, and that I, a stranger to their service, should be put over them. Harry Dundas (who was high in office) had by this time become unpopular; and one party — that which subsequently brought him to trial — had ever since been vociferous against any measure of his, and pursued him with the utmost virulence of party feelings. The opposition papers teemed daily with what they termed the infamous job of a new Indian presidency, and of the number of hungry Scotsmen appointed by Mr. Dundas. One of the most witty of their writers, — himself a Scotchman, — my friend, the late Mr. Perry, who conducted the "Morning Chronicle," termed the new presidency "Nova Scotia," which name the whole party immediately took up in full cry, and this key-note was daily resounded.

The directors of the East India Company, who did not at first object to Mr. Dundas's proposition to have me appointed to the head of the medical department, now took a different view of the subject; nevertheless, his earnest representations induced several of them to assent. But two of them, and those two of the most influential, the late Mr. Charles Grant and the Hon. Mr. Elphinstone, put themselves at the head of an

opposition to Mr. Dundas's appointment of me, and strongly represented the injustice which such appointments would be to their own servants. I learned from Mr. Dundas this state of affairs, and further, his determination to overcome this opposition; and that he had that morning communicated in a note to the chairman his resolution to resign his appointment, unless I was permitted to accompany him in the line chalked out. I also ascertained that Mr. Dundas's warmth and decision on this point were displeasing to his family and friends.

All this information occasioned me much uneasiness. The loss of an appointment, which in a few years would have led me to independence, if not opulence, was certainly a severe disappointment. But I came to an immediate decision. Before leaving town, I waited on Mr. Knight, informed him of the circumstances, and that I had now determined not to quit the king's service; at which he expressed satisfaction in a kind and flattering manner. On my return to Windsor, I wrote to Mr. Dundas; and after due acknowledgments for his warm friendship, informed him of my firm and final decision not to leave the king's service, and not to go to India. In reply, Mr. Dundas begged to see me in town, where, when he found me firm, he made the warmest acknowledgments, and did full justice to the principle on which I acted.

In a few weeks afterwards, my poor friend, with his

family and staff, embarked for his government. He did not live long to enjoy it, for both himself and Mrs. Dundas died at Prince of Wales Island within a year after he left England. The same might have been my fate (as it often struck me) had I accompanied him, and all my ambitious prospects would have been thwarted by the Allwise Providence, who directs all things for the best, and on whom, through life, I have placed my trust.

A curious and very extraordinary circumstance occurred in India, relative to the first wife of my much lamented friend Mr. Dundas, which, at the time it occurred, excited a great sensation in Bombay, and throughout India. Although here somewhat out of place, I cannot help adverting to it.

Mrs. Dundas, a native of Ireland, one of the most accomplished women I ever met, had for a long time suffered from ill health in India, and it was, at length, the opinion of Dr. Helenus Scott, and my own, that it was necessary she should return to Europe. A passage was accordingly taken for her in an Indiaman. Captain Dempster and Miss Anderson, sister of Captain Anderson of the Bombay Marine, took a passage in the same ship with their friend Mrs. Dundas. The vessel, one of the finest in the service, with superb accommodations, took the China voyage, and was to stop at Canton. She sailed under the most auspicious circumstances. However, about two months after her sailing, a report was

prevalent in Bombay that some country vessel from China to Bombay had found near some of the islands beyond the Straits of Malacca parts of the wreck of a large Indiaman floating on the water. I had received a letter from Mrs. Dundas after her sailing, by a vessel they met at sea, near Prince of Wales Island, a few lines merely, giving me an account of her health from the time she left Bombay. On looking at my letter, I had reason to fear that the accounts of the shipwrecked vessel's remains having been seen were posterior to the date of her letter. Indeed, putting all things together, I could have no doubts on the subject. The prevalent report at length reached Mr. Dundas, who came to me in the greatest agitation about it, and to inquire respecting the date of Mrs. Dundas's letter to me. On seeing my letter, and comparing dates with the reports, his agitation was greatly increased. In this juncture, Mr. Duncan, the governor, at once ordered one of the stoutest and best of the Company's cruisers to be got ready, — a sloop-of-war, commanded by an able officer and an excellent crew. She was despatched with all speed, and had orders to cruise in the latitude described in the reports, and to minutely examine every quarter in the neighbourhood.

Month after month passed since the vessel was despatched, and various were the reports and rumours which reached Bombay. One in general circulation was, that two white females had been seen on a naked rock

in the ocean. The distress of Mr. Dundas may be imagined. Half a year having elapsed since the cruiser was despatched, and no accounts of her having been received, another armed vessel, the best in the Company's service, was fitted out with an able and very intelligent officer to command her. He was despatched with orders to make the most narrow search for the two missing vessels; but strange to say, to this hour no account of either of the three vessels has been received. Various were the ways in which it was attempted to account for the disappearance of the three ships.

I ought to have mentioned that, after all negotiation for my Indian appointment had ceased, and after my firm and decisive letter to Mr. Dundas had been written, one morning, while I was at breakfast, the adjutant of the Blues came into my room and surprised me with a most unlooked-for piece of intelligence. By the desire of the king, instead of a commissioned officer to attend his majesty as orderly officer daily at the castle, a corporal of the regiment had been substituted for that duty. This non-commissioned officer was daily relieved about breakfast time, and after his majesty had dressed. The corporal, who had come off duty, had just arrived, and reported himself to the adjutant. The news he brought was, that the king, while he was being shaved, addressed the corporal (a very respectable and intelligent man, as all the non-commissioned officers of

the corps were), and among other things said, "You are about to lose your surgeon in the Blues; I have this morning signed a new commission for him on his promotion." As this intelligence greatly surprised me, the adjutant sent for the corporal, who related to me what had passed between him and the king. I had now no longer any doubt that my promotion was forthcoming, and that I owed it to Mr. Knight, the inspector-general of the army medical board, who had given me many flattering marks of approbation in public letters, and who had expressed very great regret when I communicated to him my views and intention to leave the king's service.

In due time my promotion appeared in the "Gazette," and I proceeded to town to tender my thanks to Mr. Knight.

I ought not to omit mentioning that, about the time my promotion appeared in the "Gazette," I was honoured by his majesty's notice on the terrace, who asked me how I could leave the Blues? I made my acknowledgments for the gracious favour conferred upon me, in making me a deputy-inspector of hospitals. The king continued, "But don't you think it a greater honour to be surgeon of such a corps as the Blues?" I rejoined, "Every officer is naturally desirous of moving forward in your majesty's service." He added, "Aye, aye, all you Scotsmen are ambitious." It was not long after this that I met his majesty for the last

time on the terrace of Windsor, with a green shade over his eyes, as already stated.

The promotion which I gained was a very considerable one; for looking to the various grades of medical rank as they then stood, of staff-surgeon and physician to the forces as they were then considered, I had at once got three steps in the service, and my appearance in the "Gazette" excited no small commotion in the department. The obtaining the highest rank but one in the service, was to me most important. However, my promotion from regimental-surgeon to deputy-inspector was not quite unprecedented, for my predecessor in the Blues had in like manner been promoted from the surgeoncy of that distinguished corps, to be deputy-inspector. As it afterwards turned out, the clamour, which at first was loud, ended in an unpleasant feeling towards me, from what is denominated the hospital staff. This was evinced in various unpleasant shapes; but by conciliatory conduct, I, in the end, surmounted this, and had ultimately to number amongst my warmest and most attached friends some of those who at one period entertained that feeling. I am not sure of the precise origin of the rank of inspecting officer among the medical officers of the army; but if any such existed before the time of Mr. Knight, he, in his official reign, brought the system into operation.

Mr. Francis Knight, who had been educated in the London school,—the best for a surgeon,—had been, as

well as Mr. Thomas Keate, surgeon of one of the regiments of foot guards, when, by his very polished manner and professional talents as a surgeon, he attracted the notice of the late Duke of York. Mr. Knight had established a very perfect system of economy and arrangement in his hospital. He had a talent for finance. Mr. Knight's system was, I believe, extended to all the regiments of Guards, and a very good one it was, with perfect checks on all undue expenditure. Shortly after Mr. Keate had been removed from the Guards, and appointed surgeon-general to the army, Mr. Knight was appointed inspector-general of hospitals, and the late Sir Lucas Pepys, Bart., was appointed physician-general, the whole to act as a Board for the management of the medical concerns of the army. In making a new appointment for Mr. Knight, viz., that of inspector-general of regimental hospitals, it was the desire of the Duke of York, that, with the capacity for clear arrangement which Mr. Knight had evinced in the Guards, he should extend the system pursued in the Guards to the regimental hospitals of the whole army.

In order to carry this system into effect, and to render it uniform, a class of inspectorial officers was established, viz., inspectors of hospitals and deputy-inspectors; the former for large and very extended districts, as for Scotland, or for an army in the field, or for large districts of colonies, as the West Indies; and the

latter for small, as the various military districts into which England was at that time divided. There can be no doubt but that, both on account of the economical concerns of hospitals as well as the inspection of the practice pursued in them, the institution of these appointments was most beneficial to the service. But it struck me how very easily these appointments might be turned to beneficial account professionally, and for the advancement of medical science in general, which, as it appeared, had never been thought of. However, the institution of inspectorial officers proved the cause of much dissatisfaction in the army medical board, which spread into discreditable controversy among the officers serving under the board, the officers of the hospital staff, and the regimental medical officers.

By an absurd and unnatural division of that patronage, of which the members of the medical profession are not less ambitious and jealous than the members of the law and those of the priesthood, the appointment to office of the hospital staff rested with the physician-general and surgeon-general, while that to regimental medical rank rested with the inspector-general of regimental infirmaries. The most important and valuable from their income rested with the two first-named members of the board, while the inspector general had by far the greatest patronage in the number of appointments. Sir Lucas Pepys had the appointment

of all the physicians in the army, whom he chose from the ranks of civil life, without regard to previous service in the army. The same rule, in some degree, guided Mr. Keate in his selection of surgeons to the forces, or, as they are usually called, staff-surgeons. Further, he had the appointment of apothecaries to the forces, and of assistant-surgeons to the forces. Sir Lucas Pepys, stating, as his principle, that the physician should have the most extensive acquirements and the most complete education, made it a rule that all candidates for the office should be Fellows or Licentiates of the College of Physicians of London, of which he himself was at the time the president; and he made his selection without any regard to the candidate having any previous service in the inferior grades of medical rank in the army. Mr. Keate, followed at first the same rule, in appointing staff-surgeons. Desiring that they should be the most perfect operating surgeons, he appointed them from among the pupils of the London hospitals, and in some cases, the surgeons of those hospitals; and there is no doubt, had the performance of capital operations been the only requirement for a staff-surgeon, he went to the best source for ability.

On the other hand, Mr. Knight entertained very opposite views on the subject. In selecting inspectors and deputy-inspectors of hospitals, he held it indispensable that they themselves should have seen service

in the army. He deemed it necessary that, for the correct execution of his duties, the inspector ought himself to be acquainted with the duties required of the subordinate officers, should be well acquainted from experience with the habits of soldiers, with the diseases incidental to them, with the many tricks practised by the soldier in assuming disease, or what is termed, malingering, &c., and with many other points, information on which can only be obtained by the lengthened experience of a medical officer.

Both parties were in error. At this distance of time, and when the heat of animosity has given place to cool reflection, it appears to me, from what I recollect of the medical officers about the beginning of the French revolutionary war, that the ranks of the medical officers of the army furnished but very few indeed who, from education and talent, were fit for the appointment of physicians to large hospitals. In the progress of the war, therefore, it was found expedient to establish general hospitals at home and abroad, to which the sick and wounded of regimental hospitals were removed whenever their numbers became considerable. A physician was appointed to each general hospital, who was assisted by a proportion of staff assistant surgeons, and others of an inferior grade, denominated hospital mates. The regimental surgeons, although a respectable body of men, from their being appointed by the colonels of regiments, of whom they frequently purchased their

surgeoncies, were by no means possessed of high professional knowledge, much less of general scientific acquirements, or university education.

During the long peace which followed the American war, the duties were light, the sick few, and the classes of diseases which came before them were very limited. From such a class, it would be difficult to select men adequate to the charge of the very large hospitals filled with diseases of a complicated nature, which occurred; and if confined to this class, their employment must sometimes have been much to the detriment of the service. Again, of the several able physicians, as well as inspectors and deputy-inspectors, who were appointed at the commencement of the war, most of them found that they practised with great disadvantage in a military hospital, in total ignorance of the usage of the service, and of the diseases peculiar to soldiers. Of these not a few malingered, as it is called, played all manner of tricks in feigning diseases which they had not, and exposed the physician to the ridicule of the commanding officer of a regiment, as well as of its surgeon. This could gain no respect for the new physician appointed, and, in consequence, complaints came from the officers commanding regiments, which were ultimately brought before the Duke of York.

Mr. Knight, on this, intimated that he would appoint no physician or staff-surgeon to the rank of inspector or deputy-inspector of hospitals who had not attained

what he thought the requisite experience by previous service as assistant surgeon, and surgeon of a regiment. The war between these contending parties lasted long, and not without acrimony on both sides; but while they were contending, the evil silently cured itself. Gentlemen entering the service, finding that they could not hope to attain the highest rank in the medical department of the army without acquirements not hitherto considered requisite, accomplished themselves accordingly, and several of the candidates for assistant surgeoncies and hospital mateships, appeared with the degree of M.D. from the Universities of Edinburgh, Dublin, and Glasgow; in due time, also, these, with their qualifications, moved into the higher ranks of physicians to the forces, of deputy-inspectors, and of inspector, and with great advantage to the service.

The number at first was not great, but among them were some of the oldest and best officers, who subsequently ably filled the highest rank in the department, viz., deputy-inspector, and inspector-general of hospitals.

I have been led into a digression; but to proceed with my story, my new appointment, independently of its being a promotion, was, from the nature of the duties which it imposed upon me, one which was particularly congenial to my mind and habits. From my first entrance into the service, I had some turn for

statistical statements, for collecting medical facts, and generalising upon them; and I made, for my own satisfaction, monthly, quarterly, and annual statements of the diseases which had come under my notice, both in the 88th Regiment and the Blues. I further extended them, in various diseases, to five and seven years, marking the proportional occurrence of disease and mortality; and I communicated some remarks deduced from them to some of the public journals of the day. I now rejoiced to have a wider field before me for these researches, and for the co-operation of others in whom I could confide, by which, either to correct any errors into which I might have fallen, or to extend my deductions, and have them confirmed. Further, it had for a long time struck me, that the medical board, in demanding reports and returns from the medical officers of the army, as in all their correspondence, seemed to look solely to the fiscal concerns, to the neglect of all that was professional. The most minute and scrupulous attention was not only exacted in the number of ounces of soap, salt, oatmeal, &c., given to each patient, but an error even in the fractional parts brought down the animadversion of the board, and was frequently the subject of protracted correspondence; while no notice was taken of any new or extraordinary feature of prevailing diseases, no proposition made for the trial of new remedies, and for the return of reports thereon, nor any injunctions issued to

notice post mortem appearances. In short, nothing with regard to professional duty in the interests of science was noticed, unless there happened to be an extraordinary mortality in a corps. At this time, and for some time afterwards, the duties of regimental surgeon and assistant surgeon were chiefly those of clerks, as accountants to the public for their expenditure on each sick man. With these ideas strongly impressed upon me, I had not long been an inspectorial officer, when I acted upon them as soon as I had a district assigned to me.

I took leave of the Blues, but not with the strong feelings of affection with which I left the Connaught Rangers. With the first, I had many arduous duties to perform, and suffered not a few privations in the execution of them. Although the society of the Blues was the more polished, and the life I led a much easier one, it was not of the same interesting character as that which I enjoyed with the Connaught Rangers. Besides, that with the Blues was all on home service.

My new appointment was to the superintendance of the health concerns of the troops stationed in the northern district, including the whole of the troops, militia and line, distributed through the extensive county of York, in Lincolnshire, and part of Northumberland. Before proceeding to my charge, Mr. Knight kept me some time in town for instruction, to

read over the correspondence, and examine the returns of sick from my district for some time previously.

At length, with my man Mahomet, I set off for Beverley—the head quarters of the district. I stopped at Hull, to see my old friend Grant (afterwards my brother in law, Sir James Grant). At this time he was a staff surgeon, next in rank to the deputy inspector; and from the time of the departure of Dr. Baillie—my predecessor in the York district—he remained in charge of the medical duties of the district.

I had learned in London that Grant was the candidate for the step in promotion which I got, who was thought most likely to obtain it; being a staff surgeon, and my senior in the service. When calling upon him, therefore, I could hardly expect a cordial reception; but that he would look upon me as an intruder. It was otherwise; for after mentioning his just disappointment, he shook me cordially by the hand, and said, as he did not himself get the step, I was the individual in the service of all others whom he most desired should get it. Mr. Grant's liberal and generous conduct left an indelible impression on my mind. I felt the injustice done to him by my promotion over his head, being senior to me in the service, and I never lost an opportunity of bringing his merits before Mr. Knight. In about a year afterwards, I had the great pleasure to go to him at Maidstone, where he was then stationed,

to inform him, that he was soon to appear in the "Gazette," as deputy inspector of hospitals.

After spending the day with Grant at Hull, and getting from him an account of the state of all the corps in the York district, he accompanied me on the following day to head quarters, at Beverley; where he presented me to General Vyse, who commanded the district. The general was quite of the old school, a gentleman of very polished manners, who received me with much formality and cold politeness. He frankly said, that he would have rather seen Mr. Grant, whom he had strongly recommended for it, in the situation, than any stranger; and thought his merits had not been sufficiently attended to by the head of his department. He concluded by saying, he had no doubt from what he had heard, that I should discharge the duties with credit to myself, and advantage to the public service; and asked me with Mr. Grant to dine with him that day. Afterwards, I got on very cordially with General Vyse, who was extremely hospitable. His staff was composed of very agreeable men — Colonel Delaney, Deputy Quartermaster-General, afterwards killed at Waterloo; Major Pritzler, Deputy Adjutant-General, afterwards Sir Theophilus Pritzler; Major Hart, and the general's son, Captain Vyse, aides-de-camp. We formed a small mess, and had agreeable society; for the society in and about Beverley was very pleasant, and I received the greatest attentions from

the families there, particularly from my professional brethren in civil life, whose society I ever made it my business to cultivate.

I had been but a few days at Beverley, the head quarters of the district, when I decided on visiting each station where troops were quartered, beginning with the garrison of Hull, where four or five regiments were garrisoned, under the command of General McKenzie of Fairburn. I bore steadily in mind my views of turning the reports and returns made by the surgeons and assistant surgeons of each regiment to the purposes of professional and scientific information and improvement; instead of confining them to accounts, and money matters only. In fact, at this time, the chief duty of a regimental surgeon appeared to be that of an accountant; and he was the most applauded, who was the most correct in accounts, and the greatest economist in oatmeal, salt, barley, &c.

After an inspection of the hospitals of the corps in Hull, as well as in all quarters of the district, I clearly ascertained the actual state of each; but did not immediately adopt any measure of remedy, till I had fully weighed the whole in my mind. I went no further than, in conversation with each medical officer, to impress upon him a minute attention to the professional parts of his duties, and to indicate to him the fine field for experience and observation which lay before him. I urged in every disease, where one mode of practice

was not successful, to have recourse to another; and a full detail of the effects of the remedies resorted to. I referred him to the opinions of different authors, and recommended a perusal of their works; and furthermore, I showed that a military hospital was the best for trying the effects of all new remedies, or modes of treatment; because, there the patient was more under control and observation than in any other. Above all, I exerted myself to gain the confidence of each medical officer; and while by every means I showed myself their friend, and used the utmost courtesy to the good officer, I was severe and unrelenting to the bad, the negligent, and the ignorant, who were averse to learn. It must also be acknowledged, that at this time, we had many officers, particularly in the militia, who, if not extremely ignorant, had a very imperfect professional education.

In the York district I commenced a practice, which I ever after persevered in, and found it of the greatest advantage. In my inspection of the hospital of each corps, accompanied by its medical officers, I examined each patient's history, the medical officer reading the particulars of the case at the patient's bed side, and the treatment hitherto pursued; I then questioned the patient, generally approving of what had been done; but suggesting what might occur to me as to further treatment. On the evening of the day on which I inspected an hospital, all the hospital books were sent

to my inn, where I examined them, making note of my remarks. These remarks I subsequently embodied in a letter to the surgeon, when I did not fail to advert to whatever I had indicated on former instructions, if it appeared to have been unattended to; and in this letter I referred to different authors on the diseases which were prevalent, or in which diseases the surgeon appeared not to have been successful. These letters, marked private, and always couched in friendly terms, had, but with few exceptions, the best effects; where they had not, I at first threatened, once or twice, to report to the general in command of the district; and finally to the board, in order that ultimate steps might be taken. It rarely happened, however, that friendly exhortation to the officer, aided sometimes by a notice or recommendation from the commanding officer of the regiment, failed to effect the best result.

I confidentially reported my inspections to Mr. Knight, the inspector general, with the state of the medical officers, and the steps which I was taking. He approved much of this; and his letters were ever couched in the most flattering terms, as well as those of his deputy Dr. Borland. But still, I found I had not satisfactorily accomplished all that was expected of me; for I had not scrutinised so minutely as was desired the expenditure in each article of hospital consumption.

At this period, as for a long time before, even from the very commencement of the war, typhus was more

or less prevalent in every corps in the district. It prevailed likewise in civil life. At the beginning of the war, so great were its ravages, that half of the sickness of every regiment consisted of low fever and ulcers of the legs. This may be accounted for by the manner in which regiments were hastily raised, when little or no attention was paid to the description of recruits received into the service. In some quarters, the mortality from typhus was dreadful; and the loss of men to the service from ulcerated legs, which proved intractable in the cure, was very great. The report got wind, that if the sores on the legs were not readily cured, the man would get his discharge; and hence there was a general manufacture of ulcerated legs. A system of malingering prevailed in the service; and the attention of the medical officers was directed thereto. Many treatises appeared on ulcers, some of them by medical officers of the army; that by the late Sir Everard Home obtained most attention. At this time, Baynton published his excellent treatise on adhesive straps and bandaging. Soon afterwards, Dr. Currie, of Liverpool, and Dr. Jackson, gave to the public their works on fever, and on the use of cold water in its treatment. From this period, may be dated a great change in medical practice, with the most demonstrative proof of improvement. I look upon the change of practice in fever, with the use of cold water, and Baynton's method of treating ulcers, to be the two

greatest improvements which medicine and surgery received in the age in which those three distinguished men, Currie, Jackson, and Baynton, lived.

Among other points to which I directed the attention of the medical officers under me was fever; also the works which treated upon it, Baynton's system, and Homes' classification of ulcers. Eventually I may say, we completely mastered both fevers and ulcers; and by showing to our brethren in civil life, what was done in military hospitals, we hastened the introduction of this great improvement into civil hospitals, dispensaries, and poor houses.

A work of Jackson's, which appeared soon after this period, excited much notice, viz. that on the Organization and Inspection of Armies. The military authorities took up the subject, and thence I date much of the improvement which subsequently took place in the class of men introduced into the army on recruiting, and the great immunity from disease which followed. While I believe no corps in my district could be said to be at this time free from typhus, it prevailed most in the 1st or Royal Dragoons, quartered at York.

The constituents of this corps were good, like all the old regiments of heavy cavalry: the men of a certain height, of strong frame, and generally of good character, enlisted from agricultural pursuits, and not from the manufacturing population. Typhus, however, appeared in this corps, and as it gained ground con-

siderably, and was attended with much mortality, I rode over from Beverley to York, every Saturday, to make a narrow inspection, and to follow with my own eyes the measures which I recommended to be carried into execution. The commanding officer, the Hon. Colonel De Grey, was most attentive to the men of his well disciplined corps; and Dr. Irwin, the surgeon, was an able and well-informed practitioner. Both the commanding officer and surgeon entered into my views, and fully supported me in everything; yet the disease continued to gain ground, and the mortality to keep pace with the increase of disease. It struck me that the relapses were unusually frequent, and I could not discover that this was owing to a very common cause — error in diet; that is, putting a convalescent too soon upon animal food and wine. However, it occurred to me in one of my Saturday inspections, that the convalescents were discharged too soon to the barracks, and that this was a cause of the very frequent relapses. I therefore decided that I would see every man in hospital before he was discharged from it — thus sanctioning the discharge; and I directed that this should take place only on Saturdays. On one of these Saturdays, when examining the men proposed for discharge, drawn up for that purpose in front of the hospital, I noted one man, from the peculiar aspect and appearance which he presented, and it struck me greatly that he was diseased. On questioning him, how-

ever, with Dr. Irwin, we could not discover that he had any symptoms of fever; and the hospital sergeant reminded us that this man had been in hospital, not on account of fever, but on account of punishment, which had been inflicted on him. I then ordered the man to strip; but on examining his back, found it perfectly healed. Still, however, on looking at the man I was struck with his appearance, and directed that he should remain in hospital, under observation, until I returned to inspect the regiment. In about ten days after this, — in consequence of an express from Colonel De Grey to General Vyse, that the radicals in York had excited a great commotion there, on account of a man having died on whom punishment had been inflicted; that they had insisted on the disinterment of the body, and threatened vengeance on the commanding officer and surgeon, — I proceeded to York. On going to the barracks, to my surprise I found that a coroner's inquest was sitting in the hospital, on the body of the man in question; and I was indeed much surprised to learn from Dr. Irwin, that he was the identical man whom, on my last inspection, I had remanded to hospital after carefully examining his back. The fact was, that, in the evening of the day on which I examined the man, the symptoms of typhus, which no doubt were lurking about him, and affected his appearance, broke out with violence, exhibiting one of the most unfavourable of the cases that had appeared, and

ran its career very rapidly. The body was buried after the usual interval; but the report got abroad that the man had died of the punishment. The radicals insisted on the body being disinterred; and a jury was assembled. I found them examining evidence, when I hastily made my appearance among them. After announcing myself, my office, and rank, I offered myself for their examination; their answer was, "You are one of the party concerned; you want to get the doctor and colonel off, but they shall go to the castle." On examining the face of the corpse, and the largely sloughing ulcerated state of the loins and sacrum, I in vain assured them that the appearances were those common in fatal cases of low fever; that punishment was never inflicted in that quarter, and that I myself could swear to the man's being perfectly cured of his punishment, before he was seized with the prevailing fever. But all would not do. Several vociferated, "You are a party concerned; you are not a proper witness; we will not take your testimony." In this state of affairs I was quite at a loss what to do. I learned that the members of this inquest were determined to bring in a charge of murder against Colonel De Grey and Dr. Irwin, and to commit them to the castle of York. I rode to Colonel De Grey's lodgings in York, where I found him and his wife in the utmost agony at the proceedings; he wringing his hands and pacing the apartment in agitation. On leaving, quite at a loss

what to do, I fortunately met Mr. Atkinson, the celebrated surgeon of York, in his carriage. I related the circumstances to him, and he hastily took me into his carriage, and drove to the barracks. I could have found no individual in York so fit and so able as my friend Atkinson to extricate us all from this terrible dilemma. He was a hearty, honest fellow, with much blandness of manner, of unbounded kindness and humanity, held in great estimation for his professional talents, very hospitable, and of very liberal principles, — a feature in his character, which made him regarded by the radical party of York as one of their chief men. I shall never forget his entry into the room where the inquest was sitting. They all stood up on his appearance; and he forthwith began to rate one and all of them in set terms. "You rascals! do you know what you are doing? You a jury! pretending to investigate the cause of the poor man's death, and refuse the evidence of the only competent witness that you could have! You deserve, every one of you, to be sent to the castle." Then addressing a humble looking person there, whom they had been examining, and who proved to be a little druggist in York; he continued, "And you, you rascal! What know you of wounds and punishments? go back to your counter." Upon inquiry, we found that the druggist, upon looking at the sloughing ulcer on the sacrum, had deposed that to be the evident cause of death, and that the man had died of excessive

punishment. Mr. Atkinson desired them instantly to go on with my examination, which they did in the most respectful manner, while he stood by, and my detail clearly exonerated the colonel and the doctor.

On my calling sometime after this upon Colonel De Grey, he told me with horror, that two of the jury-men had called on him for something to drink his health upon his escape from being lodged in York Castle!

At this time, in no quarter did the current of public opinion run more strongly against government, than in York, where the lower classes were loud in their abuse.

About this time also, in a flattering letter from the inspector-general, wherein he expressed his approbation of the manner in which I had conducted the superintending duties of the York district, he was pleased to inform me, that the Duke of York had told him, that I must not be confined to so narrow a sphere, and that he had decided on confiding to me the south-west district, one of the largest in England; and that I was to be relieved in the north district by Dr. Whitelock — a very able officer, but whose health had suffered from foreign service, and who was to be removed from the district of which Lichfield was the head quarters.

The announcement of my intended removal occasioned me some regret. I had met with the utmost hospitality in Beverley, and its neighbourhood. I had formed friendships there, and in other parts of the district.

During the time I was on the York district, I had gained much information, and by frequent and minute inspection of the hospital concerns, I ascertained their precise state, their advantages and their defects; and in consequence, after mature deliberation, I introduced by degrees that system which to my mind was requisite to ameliorate them professionally. As well by personal intercourse, and much conversation on professional subjects, on the new works, and on the discoveries and improvements made, as by constant correspondence respecting them, I endeavoured to awaken the attention of the medical officers, and excite emulation in the professional part of their duties. I am also enabled to say, that I hardly ever met with a rebuff, but parted with all of them as personal friends.

The inspectorial office is a difficult and delicate one; and much discretion is required in the discharge of the inspector's duties. In common with the whole class of literary men, medical men are jealous of their attainments, skill, and experience. The charge of deficiency in either, or the expression even of a doubt of them, gives more or less of offence or uneasiness to the individual, according to his temperament; but the abrupt expression of censure, or doubt of qualification, is sure to do mischief.

At this time, as I have more than once said, the medical department of the army was not composed of the most perfect materials. I believe that, in general,

the surgeons and assistant surgeons of regiments, more particularly those of the militia corps—had little more than the education of a country apothecary. No doubt there were numerous exceptions, and I recollect several who had received an education and attended the lectures at the London hospitals, then considered the best school for a surgeon. A few, and they were but few, of the surgeons, had in addition to this, a degree from the university of Edinburgh, considered the best school for a physician. In the army, at this period, with a very extensive field of experience, medical officers were not taught to take advantage of and to treasure up facts. They kept no regular registers or records; but the great evil with the regimental officer was, that his professional duty was not considered the most important of his duties, or that which recommended him to his superiors.

For collecting facts, for obtaining authentic and correct histories of disease, for observing with exactness the effects of every remedy and mode of treatment, the medical officers of the army possess singular advantages. In a military hospital, the medical officer can depend on the regimen which he prescribes being the only one which the patient can obtain. The prescribing officer has not only the patient, but all the nurses and servants under military control, and they have punishment staring them in the face if they disobey the doctor. For obtaining a correct knowledge of the effects of any new remedy, or mode of treatment, the military hospital

is certainly the best place. Doubtless, the military practitioner has his prejudices as well as others, and may inordinately extol a remedy which he has been the first to use and bring into notice; but usually there is more than one officer attending the hospital at the same time. Should that not be the case, the inspector visits the hospital, and examines the patient, and is likely to correct any error into which the medical officer may have been led. When first in his annual reports a medical officer states his great success with a remedy, this is examined into, and not only entered at the army medical board, but those reports being open to the after inspection, and for the information of his brother officers, the conclusions he has come to are further scrutinised; or his brother officers give his treatment a trial in their hospitals, and should they fail, he is required to review his conclusion, and to correct it according to a further experience. The reports made, and the facts stated by medical officers of the army, are thus so much canvassed and sifted, and their opportunities of ascertaining facts so great, that an error in treatment is soon discovered and corrected.

In the army, nevertheless, a professional man labours under one disadvantage of no mean importance. No man leaving the university or school of medicine in which he is brought up can conceive that he has finished his studies on leaving it. Perhaps the prefer-

able time for study is the period when a gentleman enters his profession in civil life. For several years alas! the physician, or what is termed the pure surgeon, is not so over burdened with patients as to prevent his prosecution of his studies. The few patients he may obtain, or his occasional attendance at a public hospital, are singularly useful, while continuing his studies. They are, if I may use the expression, a kind of demonstration, in the same manner as practical anatomy or dissection is to anatomy, or the manipulation of chemistry to the lectures in that science. This is the road to eminence for the physician or surgeon, if he then industriously employs the first years of his entrance upon his profession, and until he succeeds to the appointment of physician or surgeon to some hospital or dispensary, and becomes a teacher in some branch of medicine, or of the collateral sciences.

But on entering upon his profession in the army, the medical officer is by no means so advantageously placed as his brother in civil life. The army is officered by gentlemen of anything but a studious turn of mind. There is more of gaiety, and perhaps of giddiness, or thoughtlessness, among them, than among any other class. Unless in time of war, their duties on entering the service are slight, and amusement is too often their principal occupation. A great many of them being well born, and all of them gentlemen, they do not look with much respect to a profession which requires study and

close attention, or what they term plodding and drudgery. In fact, not a small portion of them have betaken themselves to the army from their distaste to study, and some of them from unsteadiness. Their parents have intended them for the church, the law, or some other profession, in which they had the fairest prospects of success; but after their failures in either of these, they have viewed with envy the seemingly easy, gentlemanly life of some officer in the army, who happened to have no other object than riding out after the morning parade, or sauntering about a town, ogling and coquetting with the fair who admired his dress and equipments, and who was an object of notice at concerts, theatre, and evening parties. Unless the medical man, just come from the schools, possesses a good share of steadiness, he is very apt, on joining a corps, to be captivated with all this, and to fall into the idle habits and pursuits of those around him; and if he be of good figure and engaging manner, the danger is greatly increased. He reads less and less every day, makes his hospital duty as light as he can, stops but a short time with his patients, and is in haste to join his brother officers in their plans of amusement for passing the day. In this position the medical officers of the army are placed very disadvantageously compared with their brethren just entering the profession in civil life, particularly with those of narrow means, who are in a great measure dependent on the practice they can

obtain, for their subsistence. I fear that, but a few years back, the picture which I have endeavoured to give of a medical officer's entering the army was one which applied to no small portion of them. I believe that in civil life it was supposed to be universal in its application. In fact, although no small portion of the military officers of the army were those who, having tried the study of divinity, or other professions, had not steadiness to prosecute the studies requisite thereto, perhaps a portion of the medical officers were those who, having studied medicine, were deterred from practising it in civil life, from dread of the drudgery and difficulties which beset all on their first entering into practice.

But, whatever may formerly have been the condition of those who entered the medical department of the army, it is now, and has been, far otherwise, for the last thirty or forty years at least. Moral character is investigated in every candidate, and the qualifications required of each are of a very high order; indeed more is now required of each candidate for the army, than is required for civil life by either of the colleges of physicians or surgeons, of London, Edinburgh, and Dublin. I may add, indeed, that taking the profession in civil life generally, that is, including physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries, or as the more genteel appellation has it, the general practitioner, there are comprised in the body of the medical officers of the

army, not fewer men of literary attainments and university education than in the ranks of civil life.

The state in which I found the medical officers in the York district, made a strong impression upon me, particularly, that they appeared to have made no progress in study from the time they entered the army; trusting merely to the loose manner in which they acquired experience, in the few most prevailing diseases which occurred in their regiments, viz. fever, venereal complaints, ulcers, &c. Each officer was possessed of a very scanty stock of books, and those were not of the highest authorities. Of this I am sure, that while the medical officer has a taste for his profession, and for the study of it, and prefers that to the daily trivial conversation of the officers, the reflecting part of these respect him in a degree they never would were he their constant companion in all their frivolous pursuits. Still more will they respect him, if he abstains from their lengthened conviviality at the mess-table, and if he is moderate in the use of wine. Of this I have seen much, and had an instance of it in my own case. When I entered the army, and for several years afterwards, the custom with all was to drink much wine. A bottle of port, the wine chiefly drunk, was a very common dose for each; and when there were guests, particularly when two corps of officers dined together, on the arrival of a corps at a station where

the other had been established, the dose was doubled, and with a proportion of sherry, claret, and champagne besides. Every young man soon after joining, became habituated to this. It was fortunate for me that a weakness of stomach, indicated by frequent attacks of violent headache, from which I suffered from my earliest years, prevented my indulging in the quantity of wine drunk by those around me. I had, further, always a strong sense of the impropriety of this pernicious habit in a professional man, and had constantly recurrence to one expedient or other to avoid it. I had ever been very fond of tea, and much preferred it to sitting at the mess-table. As I have always been most punctual in visiting my patients in the hospital in the evening, I made this the excuse on ordinary days for leaving the table early; but on gala days, and when all were expected to support the credit of the corps, by making their guests drunk, I found it more difficult to get away; more especially when I happened to be the president or vice-president for the week. On these occasions I gave orders to one of the orderly attendants of the hospital, to come and say, "a man was ill in hospital." At length, however, this excuse became stale, and whenever the announcement was made to me of a man being very ill, there was a general exclamation, "Oh! oh! is the doctor's tea ready?" But among the majority of the officers my motive was

understood, and, as I found, greatly respected by them.

When we were at Alexandria, I met there a countryman, who was on the staff, a most agreeable man, of some talents and attainments, but notorious even among those who were late sitters at the mess-table. I invited him several times to our mess table, where he was one of our most agreeable guests. But once seated, there was no getting him up, and he never took his departure till one or two in the morning. This annoyed me, for I could not decently desert, and leave my guest at table. However, at last I found that if I produced a substitute, my friend would not take offence. I therefore got a hard-headed substitute, a subaltern in the 88th Regiment, who would sit with my friend Major M. till daylight, and he actually did so on many occasions. After this, by an understanding between us, I got my hard-headed friend to take my duty as president of the mess whenever the turn came round to me.

For this and various other things of the kind, which became generally known to the men, as well as to the officers of the corps, I never lost caste with them. On the contrary, I found that I had gained general respect. Instead of joining them in several of the amusements, by which they tried to while time away, I had my regular hours of study, which were known and respected, and not intruded upon. I laid down to myself a

course of study, in which I persevered throughout the whole period of my service. In every quarter where I was stationed, I was regularly supplied with the medical journals, by a bookseller in London; and the accounts which Duncan's Edinburgh Commentaries and Journal, with the Medical and Chirurgical Review published in London, furnished me of professional works, led me to purchase all the most approved, which were regularly sent out to me. I further read some works on Natural Philosophy, and a good many in Natural History and Belles Lettres. Whenever my library became cumbrous, I sent the works which I had read, to Mr. Stewart, bookseller, London, who hired a room for me where they were kept. By accumulation, the number had become considerable by the end of the Peninsular war, which terminated my peregrinations in 1814, at which time I purchased a house, and settled in London. The upholsterer who fitted up the house, fitted up one room with shelving for what he thought a decent number of books; but when mine were unpacked, it would not contain half of them. Many of my old friends, the books which had accompanied me to one quarter or other of the globe, were in a miserably ragged condition, and Lady M'Grigor insisted that the tattered half-bound volumes should appear in full dress. Accordingly, all my old friends were made to appear very fine; and I felt a regard for those old friends which had been my companions in Europe, Asia, Africa,

and America. Besides the room fitted up as a library, they occupied much of three other apartments in my house, and, from the weight of them in the upper room, I felt somewhat uneasy for the stability of that part of the house.

CHAP. XI.

Appointed Inspector at Portsmouth in addition to the South-Western District. — The Duke of Cumberland, Commander-in-Chief of the South-Western District. — Inspectorial Duties at Portsmouth. — Sphere of Inspection increased with part of Sussex. — Sir George Prevost. — General Whetham. — Treatment of Hydrothorax. — Superintendance of Transports. — Sick and Wounded from Corunna. — Arrival of Sir David Baird: his Wounds. — Haslar Hospital. — Character of its Governor. — Spread of Disease: a Mixture of Typhus and Pneumonia. — The Prince of Wales, and the Duke of Clarence at Portsmouth.

Having paid farewell visits to all my most kind and hospitable friends in and about Beverley, I set off for London. The better to see the country, I had determined to make the journey on horseback, my servant Mahomet carrying a valise with him containing some clothes and a few books.

I went the first day to Lincoln, having sent on my horse across the Humber. I took Cambridge by the way, having a letter to a Fellow there, of Trinity, who showed me everything important during the few days I sojourned there.

When in London, I received much hospitality and kindness from Mr. Knight, the inspector-general of

hospitals; and as I was desirous of every information I could gain relative to the medical department in every other district, to the prevalent diseases, and the proportions of sick and mortality, Mr. Knight gave me access to the office books, and the returns and correspondence from abroad as well as at home, from which I took some notes.

At length I took leave of my friends in the metropolis, and of those at the Board, fraught with all the information I could get, and with a stock of new publications. Arrived at Winchester, the head quarters of the south-west district, of which his royal highness the Duke of Cumberland was in command, I immediately reported myself to him, having been introduced to his royal highness by Mr. Knight in London. I had learned that, like his brother the Duke of Kent, he was a most strict disciplinarian; but the Duke of Kent, with all his rigid Prussian ideas of military discipline, was possessed of many of the kinder feelings and qualities of the heart, which were not readily discoverable in his brother of Cumberland; who in austerity and rigour was observed to bear no slight resemblance to his ancestor of the same title — Duke William of Cumberland. The duke's staff at Winchester was composed of very pleasant, gentlemanlike men. His adjutant, Major, afterwards General, Foster, entered the army as a medical officer, and had attained the rank of apothecary to the forces when he entered the military

* Apothecary to the Forces 9. Ap. 1794
Resigned 2. Feb. 1797.
Lieutenant General 23 Nov. 1841.

service. Sir Thomas Dyer was the quarter-master general. He afterwards served in Spain as one of the British officers attached to the Spanish army, and undoubtedly he was one of the ablest of them, as well as one of the most honourable and upright. Mr. Lindsay, of the Balcarras family, was the commissary-general; Mr. Mapother was purveyor of hospitals, and Dr. Whelmar, apothecary.

My predecessor, Mr. Whitelock (brother of the general of that name), had left Winchester when I joined there. From him, however, I had gained previously much information of the localities of this extensive district, of the prevailing diseases, and the characters of the medical officers, &c. The south-west district included the troops in Hampshire (excepting Portsmouth and the Isle of Wight), Dorset, Wiltshire, Somersetshire, and South Wales; so that I had a wide range to travel over. This I could not complain of, for from my boyhood I ever delighted in travelling, and I found an inspection tour a great relaxation, after much writing duty, and my regular course of reading at head quarters.

Before setting out on an inspection tour of the district, I remained a month at head quarters for general arrangements, and to make a close inspection of the garrison, which consisted of four German corps, and one British. After thoroughly inspecting the hospital concerns of the four battalions of the German

Legion and Militia Regiment at Winchester, I proceeded to Southampton to inspect the 2nd, or Queen's, regimental hospital, under the care of a respectable old surgeon, Dr Maxton.

As had been intimated to me by Mr. Knight in London, I found the hospital concerns of the south-west district "not in the highest order," my predecessor having been rather lax in his discipline. However, when the medical officers and I had had some intercourse, and knew each other, I found all willing to conform to any regulation I might lay down. I framed some district instructions of the duties from the experience which I had had of the York district, and circulated them to each medical officer in the south-west district, communicating my views to the officers commanding corps, when I saw them; all of whom gave me the readiest support.

I was soon informed that the royal commander of the district was a most rigid disciplinarian, and the anecdotes related at head quarters of the rigour with which he exacted observance of certain orders, which did not appear very important to others, were numerous; and some of them very laughable. I will relate one or two of those which occurred to myself.

On either the first or second day, being Sunday, after I came to Winchester, I had occasion to be engaged in writing at my lodging, when a serjeant came in, and said that his royal highness desired I

would attend divine service in the cathedral with the other officers of the staff and the troops in garrison. I told the serjeant that I would not fail to attend. Perhaps, in about seven or eight minutes afterwards, when I was engaged in sealing my letters and putting up my papers, another serjeant appeared, and told me that the duke desired I would instantly attend at the cathedral. I buckled on my sword accordingly, and immediately followed the serjeant to the cathedral. I was directed to the pew where his royal highness was with the whole of his staff, viz. the adjutant-general, quarter-master-general, commissary-general, brigade-major, and aides-de-camp. On my entering the pew, the duke addressed me, raising very loud his squeaking voice; "Doctor M^c^Grigor, it is very strange that you take upon yourself to disobey orders, and so soon after you have joined the district." I pleaded ignorance of the order; but he silenced me, by telling me that it was my duty to have made myself acquainted with all his orders upon joining the district. All this passed before the assembled congregation, consisting of five regiments, and not a few citizens, who had followed the bands of the five regiments into the cathedral. When I sat down, I observed the duke holding his watch in his hand, and I soon discovered that I was not the only delinquent. Addressing Major Foster, he inquired if he had again sent for Captain Shandy, who was the deputy barrack-master general, then considered as a civil

officer, for which reason he, a half-pay officer, as a civilian, was without uniform, which indeed he was not entitled to wear. In addition, Captain Shandy, a very gentlemanlike man, was very defective in his vision, and was in delicate health. At length, he appeared in the pew, a serjeant following him. The duke instantly addressed him, and looking at his watch, informed the barrack master, that he had kept him, the clergyman, and the whole congregation, a quarter of an hour waiting his arrival, and desired him immediately to give an account of himself, and further, to explain his presuming to come there out of uniform. To the first of these categorical questions, the captain respectfully pleaded the state of his health, and to the second, that his majesty not having appointed an uniform for the barrack department, he could not presume to wear that of any other department. The duke rather foiled, said, "There is an uniform; and if there is not one, there must be one, and you are not to leave the house till you appear in uniform." The captain bowed most submissively, but to me and others it appeared a kind of mock humility, and as though he were playing the part of Corporal Trim to Captain Shandy. Immediately after the bow of Captain Shandy, the duke nodded to the clergyman, saying, "Go on now," when he proceeded with the service.

After what had occurred to myself, it will be readily believed, that I was not long in making myself master of

all the district orders of the duke, and I found that one of them was, if any officer of the staff went on leave of absence, for whatever purpose, to London, he was invariably to present himself at the duke's apartments in St James's Palace. I thought it lucky I had read the orderly book, for I was about proceeding to London on three days' leave. I presented myself accordingly; the porter gave me a list on which I placed my name, and I was desired to return at one o'clock, at which hour his royal highness would see all the gentlemen who came to wait upon him. At one o'clock there were several gentlemen in the room, and their number gradually increased until half-past one, at which time the names were called in turn. As soon as I was admitted, the duke merely asked me "What leave I had," "when I came to town," and "on what business I came." I was then given to understand by his manner that he required nothing further from me. I made my bow and departed.

At this time, many troops were congregated in England, chiefly in the south-west district, and a good deal of sickness prevailed.

It was intimated to me by the Board that my duties were to be extended, and that Portsmouth and the Isle of Wight were to be added to them. Hitherto these had formed a separate district. Although there was no great extent of ground, the duties were of a peculiar kind, and very important. All the great embarkations

took place at Portsmouth; almost all the great expeditions were equipped at that port; there was a very large depôt of prisoners of war afloat, as well as ashore; and in Portsmouth and its neighbourhood was a garrison of nine or ten regiments.

At the Isle of Wight was the depôt of the recruiting for all the regiments in the service; and the only large general hospital in the country. On receiving charge from my predecessor, Mr. Jobson, he gave me a formidable account of the duties expected of me, adding that much of my time would be spent afloat, inspecting every transport which arrived and every vessel of a fleet about to sail from Portsmouth with troops. I was not dismayed, however, by the extent and formidable nature of the duties now about to be imposed upon me. At this time I courted such a charge. I was full of activity and zeal, and full of confidence that I should well acquit myself of my duties. Above all, I liked them, and felt assured I could do good, having always in view my original plan, which I wanted to execute on an extended scale. If I grasped at much, my appetite was soon gratified. The Sussex district being reduced about this time, one part of it was added to my two other districts, the Portsmouth and south-west, and the remainder was added to the Kent district, under a very able officer, Dr. Fergusson. My portion of it included Chichester, where there was a regiment of cavalry and one of infantry; and Bognor, Aldwicke,

and Silsea, which three stations constituted the ophthalmic depôt, then recently established for the reception of all cases of ocular disease from every part of the kingdom. Some time after this, Dr. Fergusson complaining of the great extent of his riding duties, a further slice of Sussex was added to my district, viz. Horsham, Arundel, Brighton, Lewes, and a large military station adjoining. In the last addition made, I got the medical superintendance of upwards of 5000 more troops.

My charge was now the greatest in the country, for, besides the great number of troops, I had the harassing duties of the embarkations and disembarkations at Portsmouth; the fitting out of all expeditions with their medical requisites; the payment of the medical officers proceeding on service; and furthermore, the large general hospital at the Isle of Wight, with the great depôt for ophthalmia and other ocular diseases, often containing 1000 cases of diseases of the eye.

The field for my observation was now as complete as my heart could wish; and I entered warmly and zealously upon it. It included the counties of Hants, Sussex, Dorset, Wilts, Somerset, Gloucester, and Worcester, along with South Wales; in which, at this time, a large body of troops, with much disease prevailing among them, was stationed. I had to travel from Portsmouth to Haverfordwest, and from Brighton to Dorchester and Weymouth. In these various districts, I served

under several general officers, all of whom, seeing me zealous, uniformly supported me.

At Portsmouth I found the late Sir George Prevost in command, a worthy man and an officer of reputation in the service, but frigid in his manner. I did not succeed in interesting him so warmly in the hospital concerns as I did some other of the general officers; but on one occasion his rigidity of manner, for it was manner only, somewhat relaxed. I was desirous that he should see the old general hospital at Gosport, where I had the sick of several regiments. One morning he agreed to accompany me to it. When we had got nearly in sight of this large building, at the door of a little public house which we passed, there stood a plain deal coffin. The circumstance struck us both, for no person was near it; and I said, "I fancy that coffin is not empty," and to assure myself, I put my hand on it. I told Sir George I was quite sure it contained the body of one of the patients in the hospital, and that I fancied I should find the funeral party inside the public house. This proved to be the case, for on entering I found the whole party carousing, serjeant and all, drinking and singing in full chorus. With my cane I drove the whole of them out of the public house, when, to their astonishment, they met the governor face to face; but he lectured them only in a gentle manner on their unfeeling behaviour, in getting drunk while conveying the remains of a comrade to his grave.

Shortly afterwards, the services of Sir George Prevost were called for in North America, and he was succeeded in the command at Portsmouth by Major-General Whetham, a gentleman with whom I ultimately enjoyed a close friendship. In the composition of General Whetham's character there entered some contrary and opposite features, such as are not often met with in the same person. After returning from the memorable siege of Gibraltar, being a young man of high connections in the country, he continued in the Guards. In his carriage and demeanour he had the high polish of the gentleman; and with this exterior I was not prepared to meet with the frequent sallies of sterling humour with which he enlivened every society he came into. Above all things, he was very charitable; he indulged in warm hospitality to his friends, had the highest principles of honour, with the most scrupulous integrity of conduct, and possessed a warmth of heart for his friends beyond most of those whom it has been my fortune to meet with in life.

General Whetham was a well-read man, and had studied his profession as a science, in Germany and France. A few years before I met him, he received a wound in a duel, from which he occasionally suffered much, as well as from hydrothorax, under which formidable disease he lived longer (I believe for thirteen or fourteen years) than any individual I ever heard of. The digitalis in infusion, was of the greatest service to him, and

I believe prolonged his life for that number of years. He took the digitalis according to the prescription of his friend, the late Sir Everard Home, and it never failed for that long period to afford him relief. Indeed, after using it, he had no sensation of the symptoms for a long time. But when, after a while, a swelling of the legs and oppression at the chest manifested the accumulation going on, and that at last respiration was performed with the utmost difficulty, and only when sitting in an erect position, he would then recommence his course of the digitalis, and by the third day afterwards he was in his usual health and spirits.

From several years' experience, he was so well assured of the state of things, that he would make Colonel Nicolson, his aide-de-camp, issue invitation cards for dinner parties, to the number of fifteen or twenty gentlemen, for the fourth day after he intended to enter on the digitalis course.

The state of health of the troops in the district under my medical superintendance was generally bad, and the sick list high.

In addition to the extensive duties of the districts which I now superintended, I had many important duties committed to me whenever an expedition was started from Portsmouth, the medical concerns of which were entirely in my hands. I had to examine each of the transports appointed for the reception of troops, the quantity and quality of the provisions, and

particularly the water, on board; also the accommodation for any sick that might accrue during the voyage, and the supplies of medical comforts as well as of medicine, together with the stock of chirurgical materials and instruments supplied and embarked for the expedition. I had, furthermore, to examine and inspect each corps as to its health when it arrived; to receive each of the medical officers of the staff; to warrant the advance of their pay, travelling charges, and lodging-money at Portsmouth; and, finally, to survey each transport and inspect each corps after embarkation, as also to report to the Board the state in which each regiment had embarked. In fact, I placed the medical concerns of every expedition in an efficient state in the hands of the inspector, or principal medical officer of the expedition, before he sailed from Portsmouth, leaving him little to do while there.

At length an overwhelming duty fell upon me. Successful and glorious as the battle of Corunna had been, in which the gallant chief Sir John Moore, one of the ablest officers the country ever possessed, fell, the army was hastily embarked for England. In their retreat, the troops had suffered extremely from hunger, fatigue, and all the privations incident to war, while the seeds of contagious fever had made their appearance; and by the time they disembarked, typhus fever had spread widely among them. With the exception of some transports and men of war, which had made

for Plymouth, the whole fleet landed their troops at Portsmouth. Never was situation more favourable for the propagation of contagion than the mode of return of the British army from Corunna. The men were huddled on board with little attention to order. Men of different corps were mixed together in men of war or transports, and in the latter particularly, they were exceedingly crowded. The sick and healthy being mixed together indiscriminately, it was no matter of wonder that the number of cases of fever landed in the last stage of typhus was great; in fact it was enormous, and it excited great alarm at Portsmouth and in the neighbouring country when an account of the mortality came to be noised abroad.

I was in London, with General Whetham and his staff, when by telegraph it was notified to the admiralty that the remains of Sir John Moore's army were at Spithead, with an overwhelming number of sick and wounded. With the general, I was ordered to proceed instantly to Portsmouth. On arrival there I found an aide-de-camp of my old friend Sir David Baird waiting for me. Sir David, as is well known from the many published accounts, had his arm amputated at the shoulder joint on board the ship which conveyed him to Plymouth; but on his arrival there, at his request, he was sent round in the Ville de Paris, to be near me, whom he knew to be at Portsmouth. I immediately went on board to see my old friend, and

arranged for his being brought on shore. His landing excited much attention, mutilated as he was by the loss of nearly a fourth part of his frame. The lower class of people, of whom there was a great assemblage, from the landing place to the lodgings taken for him, showed the greatest respect towards him, mixed with strong marks of feeling; all admiring his manly, soldier-like bearing, although his face was wan.

The number of sick and wounded was overwhelming for the accommodation which Portsmouth could afford. I had all my energies at work in framing arrangements. In order to provide medical attendance, Mr. Knight sent down the medical officers of the household troops, and those of the militia who were disposable; and I was further empowered to engage the services of such of the civil practitioners as I could obtain in and about Portsmouth; and the whole of these found ample employment. After occupying all the ordinary hospital accommodation in and about Portsmouth, and converting some barracks into hospitals, on application to the admiralty, the large naval hospital at Haslar, calculated to accommodate 4000 sick and wounded seamen, was given up to us—I mean the unoccupied part of it, which was the largest share of the building. Still the number of typhus fever cases continued to accumulate, and we were obliged to have recourse to floating hospitals, such as transports, prison ships, &c.; and these were the very worst description of

hospitals. Two deputy inspectors of hospitals were sent to Portsmouth, to act under my orders. I appointed one of them for the inspection afloat, the other for those on shore, especially the naval hospital at Haslar, which we had obtained possession of only on condition that we should strictly conform to all the rules of naval discipline, (and it was intimated to us in such a way, as though they feared a breach of it,) and that the utmost deference and respect should be paid to the naval captain at the head of the hospital, who was styled "Governor." I inculcated on Mr. Hogg, the deputy inspector at Haslar, that he should impress on all the young medical officers the utmost respect towards this personage, and that he would see that the externals of respect, which I knew the "Governor" rigidly looked for, were most ceremoniously paid to him. In no long time I found, that the young medical officers, having become acquainted with the character of "His excellency the Governor" of the hospital, rather exceeded in the externals of respect towards the old gentleman, and received him with much mock state; which, however, he for some time received most graciously, until he found out that this marked respectful demeanour was shown in derision. He then complained to General Whetham, and said that, by the introduction of these young army doctors, the discipline of the hospital would be destroyed, and that he would never again be able to bring the medical

officers of the navy to a due sense of the respect they owed him.

One of the standing orders of this dignified personage was, that on entering the gates of the hospital, every military as well as naval officer should have his name taken down by the porter in a book, with the precise hour and minute of his entry, so that his excellency should be acquainted with all the movements of each individual. Another of his orders was to the effect — that every medical officer should touch his hat to him, every time he saw his excellency, however often that might be. Two very young Irish assistant surgeons had somehow been wanting in this mark of respect for the governor, of which he made a formal complaint to General Whetham, and the complaint was conveyed in such terms that I was sent, with General Porter, second in command of the garrison, to explain and to pacify the governor. We had some difficulty in keeping our countenance during the time we executed our mission to his excellency. I called the medical officers together, and explained to them that, while we were indulged with the use of the naval hospital for the soldiers, we must conform to all its regulations, and that the utmost courtesy must be paid to the governor. This was caught up immediately and carried into execution in its most literal meaning.

On the following day, and for many days afterwards, the medical officers assembled in the court yard of the

hospital, and awaited the appearance of the governor, when they formed a line on each side the path through which he was to pass, and as he passed through the line, all were instantly uncovered. This was understood by him as a mark of perfect respect, and as he passed through the line he smiled most complacently, bowing on each side very graciously. On another occasion, he called for higher honours than the military guard at the hospital paid to him, and he insisted that, besides the guard turning out to him when he passed, he was entitled to a march by beat of drum. The sergeant came up to the young Irish officer who commanded the guard for instructions, and he instantly told him to beat "the Rogue's March," which quite satisfied and delighted his excellency, he not knowing the kind of air which was played to him, although every man of the guard was almost suffocated with laughter. But the beating a march was never repeated.

The number of sick landed at Portsmouth was great, and that number was increased considerably. Typhus fever spread to all the militia and other corps in and near Portsmouth, and the militia suffered most. These corps furnished orderlies and attendants for the sick, and further, all their medical officers gave their professional attendance to the sick and wounded at Portsmouth. But in no long time, disease spread far beyond Portsmouth, and its neighbourhood. Throughout the districts under my superintendance, particularly Sussex,

a very formidable disease, a mixture of typhus and pneumonia, prevailed among the troops. It committed great havock in six militia regiments stationed at Horsham, and the mortality, both in the line and the militia, was very considerable.

Not long after the arrival of the troops at Portsmouth from Corunna, and after I had made general arrangements for the care and disposal of their sick and wounded, which entirely met the approbation not only of General Whetham, but of General Brownrigge the quarter-master general, and others of the Horse Guards staff, who came down from London, Mr. Knight arrived, intending himself to direct all the medical arrangements. I received him, as was my duty, and as all his kindnesses to me demanded. He sojourned with me, and I had daily some of the principal officers to meet him. But Mr. Knight, after a few days' stay, returned to London to make his report to the Duke of York, and to express his satisfaction to his royal highness with what he had seen.

Some time elapsed before the hospitals at Portsmouth were cleared of the sick of the different corps, and of the contagion left behind; and before they could be brought back to their pristine state of order and regularity. It was at the period while tranquillity and some degree of repose existed at Portsmouth, that the Prince of Wales paid a visit to General Whetham, who was a special favourite of the prince's, as he was indeed

of the king and of every branch of the royal family. At Portsmouth the Prince of Wales was received with every demonstration of joy and loyalty, and I was honoured by General Whetham's invitation to meet him at dinner, when he graciously recognised me, and brought to my recollection my having been honoured by an invitation to dine with him, on the occasion of his regiment, the 10th Light Dragoons, embarking for service at Portsmouth.

The day before he left Portsmouth, he invited General Whetham and several of the officers whom he had seen at the General's table, to dine with him, and I had the honour to be of the party. I had often heard of the highly polished manners of the prince,—the most perfect gentleman, as it was said, in the kingdom, but his appearance that day, and the manner in which he received his guests, exceeded all the ideas I had formed of him. In the evening, a few of the gentlemen who dined with the prince met him again at supper, when, being in a flow of spirits, he volunteered to sing a song, in which he showed considerable vocal powers; and indeed, during the whole day, every one was charmed with his elegant manners, kindness, dignity, and condescension.

Some time afterwards, the Duke of Clarence volunteered a visit to the Lieutenant-Governor, and remained a week as his guest, at the government house. During his stay, I had the honour of twice meeting him at General

Whetham's table, when he mixed very freely and with much good humour with the company he met there, chiefly with the commanding officers of corps in garrison at Portsmouth. On one of these days, his royal highness jocularly ridiculed Scotsmen, their nationality, their rigid economy, &c., when Sir David Rae, Colonel of the Middlesex regiment of militia, and I, were the only Scotsmen in the company. Sir David, an old man, did not know how to take this; but seriously expatiated on the virtues of our countrymen, and referred much to history on the subject, greatly to the entertainment of the company. It happened that his royal highness took a fancy to a horse of mine, which he daily rode; my groom bringing the horse every morning to the government house at the hour the duke usually rode out. Before I went out in the morning, it was my practice to give my orders for the day to my groom, and for several preceding mornings, I had directed Charles to lead down the horse to the government house for his royal highness. But on the morning in question, viz. that after the day when I dined with the Duke of Clarence at government house, I had forgotten to give any orders about the horse; although I could not doubt that my groom would lead him down as on former days for the Duke of Clarence. It seems, however, this was not so. Charles, who was an honest blunt John Bull, and a soldier to boot, would do nothing without orders from his master. The cortège

to attend the duke was assembled at the usual hour, the horses were all out, and several of the riders mounted. His royal highness called for his horse, but no horse was there. General Whetham despatched a serjeant to my lodgings, who saw Charles, and his reply was, that as his master had given no orders that morning about the horse, he had not led him down. During the delay which this occasioned, and when the duke expressed surprise that his horse had not appeared, General Whetham, with that ready humour which he possessed, said to the duke, "I know the cause of delay; your royal highness last night abused Scotsmen;" and in allusion to what the serjeant had said, that I had given no orders to my groom, added, "McGrigor says, he will be d——d if the duke shall ride a horse of his." With the greatest good humour the duke replied, "I did not say they had no good doctors in Scotland; I only spoke of some officers generally. I know they have ever been famed for their doctors; witness Baillie," &c. The horse at length appeared, and all went off well.

An incident occurred many years afterwards, which showed that the Duke of Clarence was also possessed of the extraordinary memory for which every other member of the royal family was remarkable. Some time after he ascended the throne, I had the honour of dining with him at the Pavilion at Brighton. The late Sir Herbert Taylor, who sat next to me, said, "His majesty

is addressing you." I instantly stood up, and the king, who had the late Duke of Argyll next to him, called out, "Sir James McGrigor, Sir James McGrigor, your countryman the Duke of Argyll desires to drink wine with you," which I accordingly did; but the manner in which the king spoke was singular and pointed. He leaned his head upon his hand, laughing slightly, which soon brought to my mind the allusion he was making to the accidental delay of my horse at Portsmouth, after his pretended abuse of Scotchmen.

CHAP. XII.

Appointment to the Head of the Medical Staff of the Portuguese Army (under the Command of Lord Beresford) cancelled. — Commissioned to succeed Sir John Webb at Walcheren. — Shipwreck of the Venerable off Flushing. — Escape of the Crew, &c. — Reception by Sir Eyre Coote. — Appalling Disease and Mortality at Walcheren. — Sad Want of Peruvian Bark. — Fortunate Relief by an American Adventurer. — Disordered Condition of the purveying Department. — Increased Sickness in the Army, and consequent Recal of it to England. — Sir Eyre Coote relieved in Command by Sir George Don. — Conflagration at Flushing. — Sail homeward. — Terrible Confusion among the Transports. — Arrival in England. — Sir James ill at Canterbury. — Excitement in Parliament respecting the Walcheren Expedition. — Summoned by the Speaker's Warrant to appear as a Witness at the Bar of the House of Commons. — Scenes in the Speaker's Chamber. — Sir Richard Strachan. — Examination before the Bar of the House of Commons. — Sir James's Evidence.

At this time the war was being carried on in the Peninsula on a large scale. We had made a stand there, which, after frustrating the attempts of the French army, presented a mark for our allies in Europe, and showed them what could be done.

Lord Beresford, in taking charge of the Portuguese army, obtained the authority to appoint British officers to regimental and staff commissions, and, as a field marshal commanding, his staff of that army was

almost entirely composed of them. Desirous to organise the medical department after the British fashion, he asked and obtained from the Duke of York and the Horse Guards, that I should be sent to Portugal, as chief of the Portuguese medical staff, with the rank of inspector of hospitals. But before this could be carried through, the parliamentary investigation of the charges of the celebrated Mrs. Mary Ann Clarke, and of Colonel Wardle, made it necessary that his royal highness should retire from the Horse Guards, and give up the command in chief of the British army. Sir David Dundas was placed as chief at the Horse Guards; and after some little difficulty, he agreed to my appointment, as one which the Duke of York had approved before he went out of office.

Before I could take measures to proceed to Lisbon, as chief of the medical department of the Portuguese army, accounts arrived of the most disastrous state of the health of the army in Walcheren, and of the death of Sir John Webb, head of the medical department of that army. It subsequently appeared that, although Sir John Webb had been put on board ship in a hopeless state at Flushing, the accounts of his death were premature.

My friend the late Sir John Webb, who had so efficiently superintended the medical department in that service, under the most arduous circumstances, and with an increasing sickness and mortality among

the troops (unknown I believe either in our fleets or armies since the unfortunate expedition under Hosier to Carthegena), had himself been attacked with the prevailing fever, and when the despatches were sent off from Walcheren by Sir Eyre Coote (who had succeeded Lord Chatham in the command), he was not expected to be alive when the latter left Flushing. In this emergency, the army medical board fixed upon me for that service. The letter which I received ordered me to embark with all possible speed at Deal, where I should find a vessel in readiness for me. I accordingly left Portsmouth on the evening of the day on which I received my orders, and, as directed, went to London in my way for instructions. I stopped only a few hours in town to receive my orders, when I was told there was every reason to believe my predecessor was then no more.

I set off in a chaise, and reached Deal at a very early hour on a Sunday morning. After looking to my baggage, I ordered breakfast; walked out; and found that there were four transports ready to sail for Walcheren, and that the agent of transports had received orders to send to sea any one of them which I might select, with me and some other medical officers expected to arrive, to fill up vacancies in Walcheren. On my way to the inn, I observed two sentries at a door, and on inquiring who resided there, I was informed the Hon. Admiral Campbell — the port admiral. Thinking it a

proper mark of courtesy and respect, I left a card for the admiral. I had proceeded but a short way from the door, when a servant overtook me, and informed me the admiral desired to see me. On entering, I found him at breakfast, in which, at his invitation, I joined him. He told me I was the very person he was in search of, for that he had a telegraph communication from the admiralty regarding me, and had orders to send me to the opposite coast the moment I arrived, for I was much wanted at Walcheren, where it was supposed the head of the medical department of the army had died; and that he was instructed to send with me several medical officers who were expected. At this time, his secretary entered, of whom he inquired, "What king's ship is quite ready for sea?" and added, "this is Dr. McGrigor, whom I am ordered to send over with the utmost despatch, the moment he arrives here." The secretary replied that there was no small vessel perfectly ready, and that the only ship quite ready to put to sea, was Sir Home Popham's — the Venerable. I here joined in the conversation, and informed the admiral that, in my morning's walk, I had found several transports in readiness, and that the agent had informed me, I might select any one of them, and he would immediately order it to sea. The admiral did not heed this, but, addressing the secretary, said, "Go to Captain King," who, in the absence of Sir Home Popham, commanded the Venerable, "with

Dr. McGrigor, and desire him to proceed instantly with the doctor to Walcheren, and take with him any medical officers who may have come in by the coaches this morning." Knowing from former experience that the conveying of military officers was not always the most acceptable duty to captains in his majesty's navy, I said, "Admiral, I beg you will allow me first to call and pay my respects to Captain King, as I know what is expected and due to the commanders of ships in the king's service." The admiral said, "Hoot! hoot! I must do my duty, and instantly, by conveying my orders to Captain King, and not be meally mouthed. Do your courtesies as you please hereafter." From what afterwards happened, I am minute in this detail; and have a perfect recollection of every syllable that passed, having very frequently recited the whole since the occurrence.

As the admiral objected to my having a previous courteous interview with Captain King, before his orders were conveyed to the captain, nothing remained to me, but to accompany the secretary in his visit to Captain King at his lodgings. We had not to go thither, for we met Captain King, with another captain, in the street. The secretary addressing him, said, "Captain King, this is Dr. McGrigor, head of the medical department of the army in Walcheren: I am to convey to you the admiral's orders that you put the Venerable to sea immediately, and convey him and some medical

officers to Walcheren." The instant reply of Captain King was, "Is the Venerable to be made a transport of? His majesty's ship will be lost." On hearing this very uncourteous speech, I addressed Captain King, saying; "I was on my way to call upon you and pay my respects to you; but after what I have just heard, I think there is an end of any further ceremony." He immediately replied, "When will you be ready to go on board?" I replied, "I am now quite ready, and I shall be on board the Venerable in half an hour." Bidding him good morning, I went for my baggage to the inn, where I found several medical officers arrived from London, waiting for me. Having ordered them to proceed on board the Venerable with the utmost expedition, I myself immediately proceeded on board; but so rapid were my movements, that Captain King had not had time to announce me or the other medical officers as passengers, so that, on going on board, although I saw bustle and preparation for getting under weigh, I was unacknowledged till the captain came on board.

On board I learned that there existed other causes of discontent, besides that of making a transport of his majesty's ship Venerable by carrying out medical officers of the army for the service in Walcheren, where, nevertheless, no service could at the moment be more important, and where these officers were extremely wanted for duty, by reason of the terrible mortality which had especially stricken the medical officers.

After the vessel was under weigh, and had stood out to sea, and after repeated signals from the admiral on shore, she made no way on her passage, and intended, as it appeared, to make little, till a lady came on board. That lady was the wife of an officer at Walcheren, Captain Codrington, afterwards Sir Edward Codrington. She was at Canterbury, whither I was informed an express had been sent for her. When Captain King came on board, he had not only recovered his temper, but appeared to feel ashamed of what had so suddenly burst from him in the street of Deal. He told me that he regretted he could not give me the after cabin, having promised it to the lady of Captain Codrington, whom he expected with a friend on board, but that I should have half of his cabin; that in everything he would endeavour to make me as comfortable as possible; and that the medical officers who came with me would mess in the ward room with the lieutenants, who would do everything for their comfort. There were Dr. Adolphus, staff surgeon, afterwards Sir Jacob Adolphus, and six hospital assistants, with two of my clerks, as purveyor's clerks. Although we got under weigh, and so far as to get beyond reach of the admiral's glasses; I soon found that we were not making our passage. In reality, Captain King was waiting for Mrs. Codrington, and it was not till late at night, or perhaps the following morning, that she, with a lady her companion, came on board. In the afternoon

of that day, when Mrs. Codrington and the lady her companion, with Captain King and myself, were sitting at table, at dinner, the vessel gave a tremendous lurch. Captain King cleared the end of the table at a bound, and was on deck in an instant. Mrs. Codrington exclaimed, "What is the matter?" I was quite sure what the matter was; for I had instantly brought to mind my first shipwreck at Grenada, when the schooner I was in was lost, and also the same sensation I experienced when our transport struck the bottom on entering Mocha, in the Red Sea. I replied to Mrs. Codrington, "I fancy nothing of consequence. But Captain King has gone to put all to rights." She replied, "I know by your features there is something of awful consequence. I entreat you to see, and tell me." On my reaching the deck, I found Captain King questioning the two Deal pilots, whose faces were of the colour of ashes. We had struck on a sand bank; and the vessel, on swinging round from this, struck upon another. An anchor was let go, which we lost. Another was thrown out, and with consternation it was found we had got into a quarter where we ought not to have been. We were in fact surrounded by sand banks.

As night advanced, the scene became terrific. The ship was constantly thumping at a terrible rate, and I could hear the sailors say — "Her bottom will not bear this long." The night was very dark; and about ten o'clock, after a violent thump, her rudder was carried

away, and we heard a gush of water rush in. She was found to admit water very fast, although all hands were at the pumps. At this time, Captain King, taking me aside, begged I would take the ladies below into the ward room, for he was about to cut away the main-mast, and in its fall it might injure the cabin and the persons in it. On this, I conveyed the ladies below, where we could distinctly hear the heavy blows of the carpenters at the main mast, which at length fell with a tremendous crash; and getting entangled with the foremast, carried it overboard with it in its fall. The water was still continuing to gain in the leaks. A great deal of stowage was thrown overboard, and all the guns, six only excepted, which were retained for signals. The water increasing much, and the men and officers being exhausted, a last expedient was had recourse to; that of thrumming a tarred sail under her bottom, at the place where the leaks were. But, after a long trial, the men were found to be so much exhausted, as not to be able to accomplish this; and we gained little upon the leaks. At this awful time, I surveyed part of the ship. In the ward room were several casks of brandy, with two marine sentries over them. The brandy was being served out from time to time to the exhausted crew, all the rest of the stock of spirits having been thrown overboard, to prevent intoxication, and those horrible scenes which have sometimes occurred in shipwrecks.

A great many bags of biscuit were stored in the ward room for exigencies. Over these, in deep sleep, were the midshipmen, who, poor little fellows, had been quite exhausted. In their sleep I observed the fine countenances of young gentlemen or noblemen; some brought up in the lap of luxury, and whose parents no doubt never dreamed of their dear boys being in such a situation as I then saw them. From this, I went again on deck, where everything wore a most gloomy aspect. Feeling excessively fatigued, and somewhat faint, I went into the captain's cabin; I called for the steward, requesting him to get me a glass of wine or a little brandy and water. But the man told me with an ironical expression, that I must know every glass, bottle, and tumbler in the ship was shattered to atoms. Having nothing else for it, and in order to be in readiness for the worst, I wrapt myself in my cloak, and lay down on the floor of the cabin. I had lain there but a short time, when Captain King came in. He paced the cabin several times to and fro, apparently in great agony of mind, speaking to himself, and unconscious that any one was in the cabin. In the awkwardness of this situation, and not wishing that he should say anything in ignorance of my hearing him, I got up, and, with a view of comforting him, said "Captain King, I trust the worst is now over, and that, when morning comes in, you will be able to get off this fine ship; Flushing is but four

leagues off." He instantly exclaimed, "Sir, you fortunately are ignorant of the state the ship is in. I wish I could save the lives of a part of those on board." Although I was by no means free from apprehension, this, as may be believed, was no pleasant communication to me from the captain. At this time our situation became truly awful; the vessel appeared at every thump to take in more water, and I witnessed more than one instance of the rather ridiculous effects which our fearful situation had upon some. One gentleman was on his knees, praying fervently, and so loudly imploring Providence, that he was quite unconscious of all about him, and of some young men, who were much tickled by the figure he made. Even when, by shaking him, I endeavoured to recall him to himself, I could not with the aid of others raise him on his feet. But, in truth, the situation was very appalling. As day broke upon us, the spectacle of the wreck was frightful. The whole deck was a mass of ruin, and the sides were all out, torn away in part by the guns in throwing them overboard; one mast, the mizen, only, was standing. We were at this time firing signal guns of distress, every five minutes. We had about eighty women on board, mostly Irish, the wives of soldiers going to their husbands at Walcheren. After every signal from the guns, a general screech and yell followed from the women, who were most troublesome, running about below and above. At length we had more light, and

every eye was at a glass, where one could be procured, to see if any succour was coming to us. A vessel was descried. We made her out to be an American. But to our utter dismay it was observed, that although she must have seen us in our distressed situation, and heard our guns, she bore away from us, and made for Flushing. It was then that an officer of the ship unfortunately was heard to say. "We are doomed to destruction. The Venerable will not hold out till other vessels can near us." I had never been actually depressed till I heard this. In the mean time I observed that the boats were getting in readiness, and all looked with some anxiety to them. It was now broad daylight, and the weather was mild and warm. There had been little wind during the night. The sailors observed at this time that, had it not been calm weather, the ship must have gone to pieces before morn.

We were constantly firing guns of distress, and every volley from them was followed by a general screech from the soldier's wives. The two ladies however behaved well; Mrs. Codrington, who showed an extraordinary degree of fortitude, was always collected, and prepared to meet the worst. At length another sail was descried from the top of our remaining mast. Every eye was applied to the nearest accessible glass. It was discovered that she was a small vessel, a brig. The utmost anxiety prevailed. To our infinite joy it was discovered that she had observed our signal of

distress, and heard our guns, and finally that she made for us. She came not very close, but kept rather at a respectful distance, fearing, I believe, that we might go down and carry her with us in our vortex. In the mean time our signal guns had been heard at Walcheren, and our distressed situation observed; but it was immediately determined to take advantage of the small brig, as far as her means would go; and all the women were sent on board of her, as likewise the papers and plate of Sir Home Popham. This had hardly been accomplished, when we observed assistance coming to us from Flushing. All the boats of the fleet were manned, and on their way to us; we watched their progress with anxious eyes. But the tide turning, and the wind being against them, they made at last so little way, that an officer exclaimed "We are doomed to destruction; the ship will not hold together till the boats can reach us." This unwise exclamation, so incautiously uttered in public, caused a look of dismay in the faces of all. At length, one after another, the boats reached us, and took us, with the exhausted crew, on shore; the Venerable was then manned by the crews of the fleet lying off Flushing, who brought her next day into harbour under jury masts.

When I reached the shore, I found my old and esteemed friend Dr. Forbes on the look out for me; he brought me to his billet, made me comfortable, and put me to bed; for I had got soaked

in sea water, from working with others at the pumps. I well remember my disturbed dream when I fell asleep; it was that of being at the bottom of the sea, where I was attacked by all sorts of horrible fishes, which were about to devour me. I next day proceeded to Middleburgh, where I was received in the kindest manner by the commander-in-chief, Sir Eyre Coote, who had lately succeeded Lord Chatham in the command. Sir Eyre had kindly ordered for me one of the best quarters in Middleburgh, and I found my apartments not only commodious, but splendid, being billeted on a director of the Dutch East India Company. I was soon visited by many old friends, military as well as medical, among the latter Sir James Grant, afterwards my brother-in-law. From the reports which prevailed at Deal when I left it, I expected on my arrival to have found my predecessor, Sir John Webb, no more. I found that he had been carried on board ship, but in such a hopeless phase of the prevailing fever, that it was not expected he could reach England alive. This happily turned out otherwise. Sir John's constitution carried him through. He landed in England amended by the voyage, but I believe years passed before his health was firmly re-established. He was subsequently appointed director-general of the ordnance medical department, an office which none of his predecessors filled with more ability. That situation has been filled by some

very able men, as Dr. Rollo, Sir John Macnamara Hayes, &c.

From the time I left Beverley and the northern district, the sphere of my observation had, as I wished it, been greatly increased. At Walcheren it attained to the height of my wishes. The number of sick was immense, that of the wounded officers and men, who could not be conveyed thither, was considerable, and both together, most unhappily, nearly equalled that of the men in health. In the Portsmouth and south-west districts, by the greatly extended sphere of action in which I was there placed, I had added much to my plan of organisation. But the amount of sickness at Walcheren was great beyond all comparison with that which I had hitherto witnessed.

My first object, after my arrival at Walcheren, was to make an inspection of each of the numerous hospitals spread over the country. I could not expect to find them in perfect order after such an overwhelming influx of sick, with imperfect means.

On examining the stores, both of apothecaries and purveyors, I found them drained of many articles of the most essential description. There had been a great increase in the consumption of bark, and I found little in store. I therefore wrote repeatedly to the surgeon-general, Mr. Keate, entreating him to send a supply as expeditiously as possible. Before it could reach us, however, we were nearly quite destitute of that powerful

remedy. But about the same time, I learned that an American vessel, which came with a large supply of champagne and claret for the sutlers, had brought some chests of bark on a venture; having most probably heard of the deficient state of the stores of all the belligerents, in that article. I immediately ordered the purveyor to make a purchase of whatever stock of bark the Americans might have; and the supply we obtained lasted till the quantities forwarded by the mail coaches to Deal, and thence by the packets to Walcheren, arrived. I give this little detail at present, for a reason which will be seen in the sequel, when a public inquiry was made into this, one of the largest expeditions ever sent out by the country; from which so much was expected, and which ended in disappointment, after an immense expenditure of lives and money.

In taking a survey of the position of the medical department in Walcheren, after I came to the charge of it, the purveyor's branch, which included all the money concerns, gave me no small uneasiness. Mr. Stewart, who was at the head of this branch, was a man of business, of the greatest probity and honour, and with much experience of the service. But, in succession, many of his clerks had been attacked with the prevailing fever; and those who supplied their places were so inexperienced, that the accumulation of the business of his office quite overwhelmed him, and he came quite

to a stand still, fearful of the confusion his accounts had got into. I immediately wrote to England, and requested that Mr. Moss, one of the ablest as well as most upright purveyors in the service, might be sent out to me, so that he might conduct the purveyor's duties; while Mr. Stewart would have leisure to bring up his accounts, and put them into some order before they got into irretrievable confusion. My request was granted. Mr. Moss arrived, and by his activity, business-like habits, and exertions, brought everything into order, besides arranging our accounts in connection with the commissary-general, Sir R. Robertson, likewise one of the ablest officers of his department.

At length government came to the decision that, from the overwhelming sickness and from the mortality which had occurred at Walcheren, one of the members of the medical board should be ordered to proceed thither to investigate and report to his majesty's government. Accordingly, the physician-general, Sir Lucas Pepys, was ordered to proceed thither. But in an evil hour he declined, and what was his excuse? That he was not acquainted with the diseases of the soldier in camp or in quarters. Equally unfortunate it was, that neither of the other two members volunteered their services. This unfortunate constitution of the army medical board excited at the time not only ridicule and contempt, but great indignation was expressed thereat in parliament. In this very awkward

state of affairs, none of the members of the board feeling inclined to adventure a voyage to Walcheren, they ordered two of the oldest medical officers to go out, Dr. Borland, inspector-general of hospitals, and Dr. Lempriere, physician to the forces, with whom was associated Sir Gilbert Blane, an eminent physician in London, who had been in the navy, and who volunteered his services. These three gentlemen went out as commissioners, to see with their own eyes and report the state of matters at Walcheren. They remained a few days; saw the miserable plight the army was in, and the immense mass of sickness and mortality; but I believe they could recommend nothing further than the removal of the remainder of the army to England, from the pestiferous region in which it was located.

The French force, which now nearly surrounded us, was by degrees much increased, and without great reinforcements, amounting almost to a renewal of our exhausted army, it was very apparent we could not hold our ground. Orders therefore came from England, and preparations were commenced for our departure.

Soon after this, Sir Eyre Coote was relieved in the command of the British army at Walcheren by Sir George Don, an old and experienced commander.

The preparations for embarkation were now hastened. With several officers of the hospital staff, with the remains of two companies of the hospital corps, who

acted as orderlies in the hospital, and with Captain Walker, one of their officers, I embarked in the Asia hospital ship. Among those on board with me were the present Sir James Grant, Dr. McLeod, physician, Mr. Moss, purveyor, and others, who formed a good mess, and afforded pleasant society.

On the night of the day on which we embarked, while riding at anchor in the road of Flushing, everything having been previously arranged, the dockyard of Flushing was set on fire, and from our anchorage we had a full view of an awfully grand sight. From the numerous explosions and the violence of the fire, fed by barrels of tar and every kind of combustible, not only everything in the dockyard was doomed to destruction, but several men-of-war on the stocks.

The transports moved out so as to be beyond the reach of the explosions, but we were rather crowded. It began to blow excessively hard — almost a hurricane, and the night was tremendous. The place allotted for the fleet of transports was small, and they were of course much crowded together. Not a few of them ran foul of each other, but we were excessively alarmed, a little before daylight, by a terrible concussion. This proceeded from a man-of-war—the Gorgon, a forty-four, which, having broken loose from her anchorage and swinging down among the transports, came across us, her bowsprit driving in through our side, at a place where staff-surgeon Liddesdale was in his berth, from

which, however, he sprang up in an instant and ran upon deck. Fortunate was it that he did so, for the bowsprit passed quite across his bedplace, and ran on till, pointing upwards, it tore up all the deck in that quarter. Never was there a more providential escape than that of surgeon Liddesdale.

Nothing remarkable occurred till we reached Deal, which was on the morning of Christmas day. I set off post thence, and slept at Canterbury that night, where I was taken ill, having carried with me the seeds of the prevailing fever from Walcheren. I had reason to be thankful that my seizure took place in England, and not in the pestiferous spot where it ran its course so rapidly.

On my arrival in London, I met with the kindest reception from each of the members of the board. My reception by Sir Lucas Pepys and Mr. Keate was not externally warmer than that of my kind friend Mr. Knight. Each acknowledged that I had executed the superintendance of the medical department at Walcheren to their credit, as well as to my own. But it required little observation to discern that the most bitter feuds existed among themselves. These were by this time so notorious that government had determined to break up the board.

In the meantime, it had been carried in the House of Commons, against the ministers, that a parliamentary

inquiry should be instituted regarding the expedition to Walcheren; and it was understood that the shafts of the opposition were in a particular manner directed against Lord Chatham, who commanded it, as well as against the planner of that ill-fated expedition. I had not been many days in town, when I was visited by Lord Radnor and two of his friends; who, after some discussion on the subject of the sickness and mortality of the army, intimated to me that I should receive the Speaker's warrant to attend as a witness at the bar of the House of Commons. I did receive the Speaker's order, and Lord Radnor with his friends repeatedly called upon me. I found that caution was necessary, and that I ought to have recourse to my notes before I gave replies which required the utmost accuracy. Not long after this, I got notice from Lord Radnor, then Lord Folkestone, that my evidence would not be required, and my attendance would be dispensed with.

In a day or two afterwards, I received a note from Lord Ripon, then Mr. Robinson, requesting, by desire of Lord Castlereagh, that I would wait upon his lordship on the following morning in St. James's Square, at eleven o'clock. I was punctual to the appointment, and found his lordship and Mr. Robinson together. After noticing that Lord Radnor and others had sought information from me on the subject of the Walcheren expedition, they put a few questions to me, and informed me that they would require me to

attend as a witness at the bar of the House of Commons, for which I must be prepared to receive the Speaker's warrant. Having just learned that my excellent friend General Whetham was ill at Portsmouth, I stated that I had just heard of the illness of a friend there, whom I was desirous to see, and begged that, if possible, the warrant might not be sent to me for a week, so that I might be enabled to go to Portsmouth for that purpose. This was immediately conceded, and I took my leave, the two ministers having been most courteous and kind to me.

On my arrival at Portsmouth, I found my truly kind-hearted friend recovered from one of those attacks of hydrothorax, from which he had suffered for many years. He welcomed my return to Portsmouth in the kindest and most cordial manner, saying that my visit revived him. I passed a few days most pleasantly with him, and some other kind friends.

Having announced my return to town, I soon received the Speaker's warrant to attend as a witness before a committee of the whole house on the Walcheren expedition, which had been in progress for some time. I went to the Speaker's chamber at four o'clock, where I found several other witnesses. Among them was the late Sir John Webb, who had received a similar warrant. I did this daily for upwards of a fortnight, being every day at the Speaker's chamber by

four o'clock, the warrant being renewed, and sent to me every day. At length my turn came, and I was in some agitation, which the appearance of the witness cited immediately before me did not tend to diminish. This was no other than Sir Richard Strachan, as brave a man as ever trod a quarter-deck. Yet, when a messenger came to the Speaker's chamber, and two members, his friends, appeared to conduct him to the bar of the house, his appearance was anything but that of a man of courage. When his name was called, his face was as white as a sheet. He was agitated, and his friends immediately sent for a glass of wine for him; after which he proceeded between them to the bar of the house. His examination was a long one; and on his coming out, I was called in. Sir Eyre Coote followed the messenger into the Speaker's room with two of his friends, to whom he introduced me. They counselled me to be calm and collected, and not to widen my replies to questions, but to give affirmation and negation merely, whenever I could properly do so. Between them I marched in, and soon found myself at the bar of a crowded house.

My examination by both sides of the house was a very long one. I kept full possession of myself for a considerable time. But at last, from the extreme heat of the house, my position, and the length of my examination, I became somewhat confused, and I

completely stuck at one place relative to the supply of medicine to the sick. Mr. Whitbread had pressed me much upon this. I had admitted that at one time our stores were nearly empty, and that little or no Peruvian bark—one of our most essential medicines—remained. Reverting to my former replies, that our sick did not suffer from the want of medicine, he desired me to reconcile that apparent inconsistency. My reply was, that I had given orders to the purveyor to purchase all the bark he could get. His next question was, "Where was a quantity of bark to be purchased in Walcheren?" My reply was, "From adventurers." He rejoined, "What adventurers?" For the life of me I could not explain my meaning of the word adventurer. He several times repeated the question, but I could not go on, and felt most confused. At length, Mr. Perceval got up, and in a kind voice, addressing me, said, "I suppose you mean by adventurers, those who might have come to the British army to sell their wares, such as wines, provisions, and so forth." This immediately brought me to myself; and I replied, "Precisely so;" and addressing Mr. Whitbread, who smiled, I told him that some American vessels came in, and among other merchandise, we found that they had some cases of bark; all of which I directed the purveyor or commissary of hospitals to purchase; and that the stock lasted till the supplies arrived from

England, which I had so pressingly written for. This was satisfactory; and after having been questioned and cross-questioned by both sides of the house, during what appeared to me a very long time, I had permission to retire from the little gentleman with the black wig—as Mr. Abbott, the Speaker of the day was termed.*

* See Appendix D.

CHAP. XIII.

Marriage of Sir James M'Grigor. — Proceeds to the Peninsula.

On inquiry, I found I had not permission to leave town, and therefore passed much time with many old and kind friends. Among others I spent much time in company with my dear friend and distant relation Dr., now Sir James Grant, through whom I was introduced to his sister, whom I had afterwards the good fortune to marry, and who, without the slightest exaggeration, brought me the greatest happiness of my life, by uniting her lot to mine.

I returned to Portsmouth, and resumed the superintendance of my districts, which my friend General Whetham had arranged with the Horse Guards, and which, during my absence, had been held by Dr. Fergusson.

In June 1810, I was united in marriage to Miss Grant. Arrived at Portsmouth, General Whetham did everything in his power to make our abode comfortable, and being a bachelor, he sent for his sister, the wife of a clergyman, who, with her husband, came to Portsmouth; and thus he made the Government House a comfortable place for us to visit.

It will be in the recollection of the reader, that before I was sent to Walcheren, to succeed Sir John Webb, in the superintendance, I had been requested by government, through Marshal Beresford, to superintend the medical department of the Portuguese army, and to organise a system of medical regulation and discipline. On my proceeding to Walcheren, the rank of inspector of hospitals, which would have been local had I joined the Portuguese army, was made permanent by my services as chief at Walcheren. However, on my return from Walcheren, Marshal Beresford was anxious for my services with him; but my recent marriage had rendered the situation of chief of the medical department of the Portuguese army less desirable than it would have been when I was a bachelor; and, after some exertion, I was mainly instrumental in getting my friend Dr. Fergusson appointed inspector of hospitals with the Portuguese army, which obtained him a step in promotion, and he proceeded forthwith to Portugal.

Before I had proceeded to Walcheren, the medical concerns of the southern and south-west districts appeared to me to be very considerable; but the mass of sick which I had to deal with in Walcheren made those of my old districts appear small. I, however, followed up in those districts the plan of observation which I had commenced in the York district, and, as I had reason to believe, I proceeded in their superintendance much

to the satisfaction of the generals who commanded therein.

I ought to have mentioned that, on the conclusion of the parliamentary inquiry into the Walcheren expedition, a new board for the medical department of the army was constituted, and as it appeared at the parliamentary investigation that the members of the last board had no extensive knowledge of the service, nor had ever served abroad, the members of the new board were to be free from that disqualification. They were Dr. Weir, a gentleman of very advanced age, who had served much abroad; the late Sir Charles Kerr, who had long served in the East, as well as in the West Indies; and Dr. Gordon, who, in addition to a long and varied service, was looked up to as one of the most judicious and talented officers in the medical department of the army. Unfortunately, the defective vision of Dr. Gordon obliged him to retire at an early period; however, he was replaced by the late Sir William Franklin, who enjoyed the esteem and confidence of the whole army, and whom I subsequently had the happiness to have as acting colleague, for upwards of twenty years.

The Sussex district was commanded by Lord Charles Somerset; the south-west, as before stated, by the Duke of Cumberland, and Portsmouth by my attached friend General Whetham.

On the 2nd of May, 1811, my beloved wife presented

me with a son*, who was not six months old, when one morning the London post suddenly and unexpectedly brought me orders to prepare for embarkation for the Peninsula, there to replace Dr. Frank, as chief of the medical staff under Lord Wellington.

At any other time this appointment would have gratified me to the full extent of my ambition: but the happiness I had enjoyed in the married state, made it now a sad and painful change to me. The announcement was a sad blow to my beloved wife, who at once determined to be my companion: I had however seen enough of ladies on service in the field, to decide me against that step; and I knew well, that with the care of my wife and child, I could not do my duty in the way in which I had determined it should be done, while I remained in the service. I went to the secretary of the board for instructions, to examine old and recent sick reports and returns of sick and wounded from the Peninsular army, in order to make myself master of the actual state of the health and hospital concerns, and to be prepared for my duties. I found that a transport had been provided for me and Dr. Forbes, then a staff surgeon, and one of the ablest medical officers I ever met with in the service, who desired to accompany me; and I also took out with me my four clerks.

* The present Sir Charles McGrigor.

I left my house with my brother, the late Colonel McGrigor, and went to take leave of General Whetham, who accompanied me to the place of embarkation. I embarked with Dr. Forbes and my clerks in a small brig. The accommodations were certainly small, but we had the consolation of having the whole of the vessel to ourselves. We put to sea on the following day, and on that and for several succeeding days it blew exceedingly hard; but we finally reached Lisbon on the 10th day of January, 1812.

We came to anchor at Belem late in the day. I proceeded to the hotel, and went to bed. On waking in the morning, my surprise was great, to see from the windows of my bed-room, which opened upon the garden, the orange trees bearing fruit, while but a few days before I had found the streets of Falmouth covered with black ice, and the surrounding mountainous country white with snow.

Once settled in a billet at Lisbon, I had abundance of duties on my hands. I made a most minute inspection of the stores and accounts of the purveyor and apothecary. A variety of reports had reached England very condemnatory of both those departments, some of which reports were very scandalous and unfounded. But I determined to show that I would look into them narrowly, and, on inspection, I certainly found great irregularities in

both. There was an immense number of sick, and of medical officers at Lisbon, and also a very great number of either sick or reported sick or wounded officers. In England I had heard much that was unfavourable respecting them; and after I had narrowly examined the whole, I made up my mind to make a report and a proposition thereupon to Lord Wellington, when I had joined head quarters. The report related to the very great accumulation of sick, and to the still greater exceptional accumulation of officers, their ladies, and the wives of soldiers at Lisbon, which detained at the capital of the country a disproportionate part of the medical officers of the army. My repeated inspection of all the hospitals, and of a great many of the officers, convinced me that Lisbon was so very agreeable a residence, that many officers and soldiers would be slow to resume their duties in the field, and that it was a much more attractive station for the medical officers themselves, than the divisions of the army about Ciudad Rodrigo, in an inclement season of the year.

After I had fully satisfied my own mind by repeated inspection of every establishment at Lisbon, and much conversation with General Peacock the commandant there, I communicated my ideas to Lord Wellington; and after giving a full report of the existing state of things, I submitted to his lordship three distinct propositions.

1st. As to the large proportion of the army in the hospitals, particularly at Lisbon, I proposed, that, in future, only special cases of either wounds or sickness should be sent to the rear, and such only as should be approved by me. In order to effect this, I submitted, that each corps should have a temporary hospital of its own, where all slight cases of disease and wounds should be treated by the regimental medical officers, under the superintendence of the principal medical officer of the division.

2nd. That all sick and wounded officers of the same description, instead of being sent to Lisbon, as heretofore, should be treated in the same manner.

3rd. That, as in future no sick or wounded would be at Lisbon, except those that would ultimately be embarked for England; all the medical officers should be ordered up to the army, excepting the small establishment which I indicated for the Lisbon duties. Finally, I gave a statement of the sick I found at Lisbon; proposing that one part of them, officers and men, should be sent as inefficient to England, and the remainder ordered to join their regiments in the field, for duty, or to be under the care of the medical officers of their regiments.

I made further propositions for the prevention of the accumulation of the stores of every kind which I found at Lisbon.

I received a cordial letter of thanks from Lord Wel-

lington; who requested me to join the army, in order that he might talk over the subject of my report with me; desiring me, however, to inspect narrowly the large hospital stations of Coimbra and Celerico, and others on my route. I subsequently received two more letters from him, when he expressed his desire that I would join him with all speed.

With Dr. Forbes and my four clerks, we set off from Lisbon to Villa Franca, our first stage. Thence we hurried on to Coimbra. The weather was bad and tempestuous, for it rained throughout the journey, and we reached Coimbra much fatigued, and with our baggage animals quite exhausted.

Next to Lisbon, our largest hospital establishment was at Coimbra, where we occupied the numerous convents, churches, and monasteries of the place as hospitals; and it took me nearly a week to examine the whole of them minutely. Coimbra is the seat of the principal Portuguese university, where George Buchanan, after he fled from his country, was elected to a chair, and was interesting to me for many reasons.

I had hardly finished my inspection at Coimbra, when I received a letter from Lord Wellington, pressing me to join him at head quarters. I set off for Busaco, in the monastery of which place we halted for the night, the monks entertaining us.

On reaching Celerico, I found the hospital establishment in that miserable dilapidated place any-

thing but comfortable for the sick and wounded, which was chiefly owing to its locality, and to the great deficiency of means to afford comfort. The circumstances of the campaign, and the situation, rendered it nevertheless necessary to have an hospital establishment there. At length I reached head quarters, and, on inquiring for the commander-in-chief, found that Lord Wellington was out hunting. Sir Ulysses Burgh, now Lord Downes, received me, and said he was sure Lord Wellington would expect me to dine with him. I accordingly awaited the return of his lordship from the chase. He received me most kindly; recollected immediately our having met in Bombay, and thereupon, in the midst of a large party assembled in the dining-room, for drawing-room there was none, asked me if I had met my old regiment the 88th, or Connaught Rangers, on my route. On my replying that I had not, he laughingly said, "I hope from your long living with them, you have not contracted any of their leading propensities; for I hang and shoot more of your old friends for murders, robberies, &c., than I do of all the rest of the army." The laughter of the whole party was loud. At this I felt somewhat abashed; which Lord Wellington observing, he continued:— "One thing I will tell you, however; whenever anything very gallant, very desperate is to be done, there is no corps in the army I would sooner employ than your old friends the Connaught Rangers." Before I

took my departure, his lordship said he would be glad to see me on business in the morning. I went home to a small fort about a mile distant, Castello Bom, which had been appropriated for my quarters, and those of my staff, viz. Mr. Gunning, the surgeon of head quarters, my clerks, the servants, muleteers, &c.

Castello Bom was a very dilapidated town, the population of which consisted of the priest, the chief magistrate, or juez de foro, and from fifty to sixty miserable, poor, starved-looking creatures. Indeed, but a few months before we became its inmates, famine and disease had nearly depopulated Castello Bom, and our habitations were of the poorest description; not even in the chief magistrate's house, which was assigned to me (as being the best in the place), was there a pane of glass in any of the windows.

When I came to take possession of the office I found it denuded of all papers, excepting a few very uninteresting returns; my predecessor having carried with him to England almost all the office books and papers, even the letter books, and the orderly book, and those containing Lord Wellington's standing orders to the army. Without these I could not proceed a step, as in fact I was to be guided by them in everything, and I was obliged to report the want of these to Lord Wellington, who was very wroth. He desired I would immediately write to the army medical board, while he wrote to the Duke of York, requesting that all these

might be immediately returned to the army as public property, and necessary for my guidance.

On examination of the returns rendered to me, I found that they contained very imperfect or, indeed, scarcely any information upon the sick and wounded, reports of sickness having never been regularly required. I therefore immediately set about establishing certain returns and reports, nearly on the plan that I had commenced with in the York district, but greatly improved by my subsequent experience at Portsmouth and Walcheren.

On my first interview with Lord Wellington, after dining with him on the day of my joining, I found him much pleased with what I had done at the hospitals in Lisbon and Coimbra. He said he much wanted such an officer as me, who thoroughly understood the duties, who was acquainted with the habits of soldiers, and who would prevent the malingering propensities of both officers and men at the hospital stations, where all sorts of irregularities prevailed; and he promised me his utmost support, which from that moment I fully experienced. His lordship dwelt on the little support he received from some of the heads of departments, whom he freely named, saying he had to do their duties as well as command the army. I replied that it would be my endeavour to prevent his having that trouble with the medical department of the army. We parted on the best terms; and he

desired me to come to him every morning at the same hour, with the other heads of departments, the adjutant-general, quartermaster-general, and commissary-general.

On my appearing the second morning, I found in the outer apartment the commissary-general, Sir Robert Kennedy, and adjutant-general Brigadier-General Stewart (the late Lord Londonderry, with his book under his arm), who, coming up to me, said it was unnecessary for me to come to Lord Wellington, that I might come to his office, and he would transact my business for me with his lordship, whom it was unnecessary for me to trouble. I replied that I preferred doing business directly with Lord Wellington, and that it was by his lordship's desire I came there. At this moment the door of his little inner apartment was opened by Lord Wellington, who, nodding to me, desired me to come in. After this I daily made my appearance to take his orders, and to make my reports on the number of sick and wounded with all the details of their movements. These reports I made to his lordship ever afterwards, whether in the field or in quarters, immediately after his breakfast, which was the time he fixed for seeing the adjutant-general and quartermaster-general, the commissary-general, myself, and occasionally the paymaster-general, and the head of the intelligence department when at head quarters, my brother-in-law, the late

Colonel Colquhoun Grant. At this time he gave me notice of movements, and after my giving him a statement of the total sick and wounded of the army, I gave him the total in each hospital station in Portugal, Spain, and afterwards in France, and the total number of dead; the number fit to be marched to their regiments or convalescent; the cases or diseases, with the causes of these; and in fine, everything relating to the health department of the army.

At first, it was my custom to wait upon Lord Wellington with a paper in my hand, on which I had entered the heads of the business about which I wished to receive his orders, or to lay before him. But I shortly discovered that he disliked my coming with a written paper; he was fidgetty, and evidently displeased when I referred to my notes. I therefore discontinued this, and came to him daily, having the heads of business arranged in my mind, and discussed them after I had presented the state of the hospitals. When money was required for hospital purposes, I brought with me the purveyor's estimates, under different heads, such as purchase of provisions, wine, building repairs, &c.

A few days after I had joined at head quarters, in my morning interview and discussion with his lordship, I broached the subject of my written communication to him from Lisbon and Coimbra. He entirely approved of my plan of breaking up the great depôt of sick officers;

particularly at Lisbon, and of a code of regulations which I submitted to him on the subject, and further of that regarding the sending sick or wounded soldiers as well as officers to the rear. By these regulations, neither sick nor wounded officers or men were to be sent to the rear, except on the proceedings of boards of medical officers, which proceedings were to be submitted for my approval. But regard was had, of course, for exceptional cases, such as during retrograde movements of the army, or after action. It was further directed that, after the arrival of officers or men at Lisbon, they were immediately to appear before another board of medical officers, and, if recovery was not effected in a limited time at Lisbon, all were to be embarked for England, This at once cut at the root of the great abuses which had existed at Lisbon, where, besides the great number of malingering soldiers, there were generally many officers congregated, as well as their wives. General Peacock, as commandant at Lisbon, told me that the ladies were the most insubordinate and troublesome part of his charge. Lord Wellington at once saw the great advantage that would accrue to the army from this part of my plan, in the considerable addition which it would give to his force in the field; and he immediately gave his unqualified assent to the regulations which I laid before him, ordering General Stewart, the adjutant-general, to issue them in orders to the

whole army. When, however, I proposed, with the still further view of preventing the accumulation of sick and wounded in the rear (which existed in all the hospital stations), that each regiment and brigade should have its own hospital, where all slight cases of disease and wounds should in the first instance be accommodated, and that conveyance for the hospital establishment should be provided for each corps and brigade, he at once exclaimed against it, and said he would have no interruption to the movements of the army, which my plans would clog. On my further explaining, he warmly said he would have no vehicles with the army but for the conveyance of the guns; so that for the time I was obliged to give up my plan. I saw he was very strongly opposed to it. I found, however, that he had not entirely dismissed it from his mind, for some days afterwards he said to me that my views were excellent, if they had been practicable; because it was lamentable to see so many men slightly ill or wounded sent constantly to the rear, and thus diminishing the force of the army in a greater proportion than the reinforcements from England were adding to it; but he said, "I cannot risk encumbering the army and impeding its movements, either in advancing or retiring;" and for the time the matter dropped.

CHAP. XIV.

The Siege and Capture of Badajoz.

From appearances it was evident that the army was about to move, and I received some general instructions respecting the hospitals. Ever since my arrival in Portugal I had been taking measures to introduce my own plan of reports and returns, which I had kept steadily in view since I entered upon my inspectorial duties in the York district. My objects were, to have a check on the expenditure of stores for the public, and to elicit as much information as possible from the reports and returns rendered to me. The stores are of two descriptions, viz. apothecary and purveyor's stores. The stores of the apothecary include medicine, surgical materials, and surgical instruments, while those of the purveyor or hospital commissary include hospital clothing and bedding, wines, articles of comfort for the sick, materials for repair, hospital tents, marquees, &c. Various reports were prevalent on my arrival of the immense and improvident expenditure of these stores, particularly of the purveyor's;

and it was whispered that some of the departmental clerks of the purveyor had been carrying on a system of peculation.

On this subject I had several communications with Lord Wellington, who desired me to keep a vigilant eye on those gentlemen, and put some anonymous letters, addressed to him, into my hand. When Lord Wellington announced to me the object of the march of the army, viz. the siege of Badajoz, I issued orders to the purveyor and to the apothecary to have depôts of their respective stores; and at the same time I issued orders to the superintending medical officers of divisions of the army, to see that each corps in their divisions sent in requisitions for such medicines, surgical materials, and instruments as they were in want of. By the time the movements commenced towards Badajoz, every division and every corps had received the supply of medicine and materials which they required, while the apothecary and purveyor established at Elvas a depôt of their respective stores, from which the several corps could obtain what they stood in need of. When I moved on with my office establishment, passing the different divisions of the army, and saw the description of sick they were depositing at the appointed stations on the route, I entered into conversation with the regimental surgeons, all of whom agreed with me, that if they had only some kind of conveyance, such as the common carts of the country, it would be

necessary to send but few men to the rear. Their commanding officers were of the same opinion, being very unwilling to part with a man in moments of emergency; but having no authority, they feared to incur censure by carrying slight cases with them. This practice however gradually crept in; few corps were to be seen without a cart to carry their slight cases with them when they marched, and the commanding officers, wishing to have as many effective men as possible with their regiments, were anxiously desirous to carry with them, men who in a few days could carry their firelock, and appear in the ranks. The medical officers, knowing that the plan was one which I especially advocated, entered readily into it.

Early in March, 1812, head quarters broke up, and, with my office establishment, I left our miserable quarters at Castello Bom, and crossed the Tagus. We continued our march through Estremadura till I reached Elvas, where I was stationed. On the following day, crossing the Guadiana by a bridge of boats, I found Lord Wellington with part of the army encamped before Badajoz.

I established my office at Elvas, where, in two days, of letters and returns forwarded to me from the hospital stations and divisions of the army, I found as many as filled a large corn-sack. However, with my four very efficient clerks, and my friend Dr. James Forbes, whom I retained with me at head quarters to conduct the

professional part of the correspondence, we soon mastered the formidable sack.

As I rode over daily to see and report to Lord Wellington, he kindly ordered a tent to be pitched for me contiguous to his own, furnished with some straw and two blankets, where I could repose at night if anything detained me. I established a small field hospital, to which such accidents and wounds as now daily occurred were sent in the first instance, and got some spring waggons appointed for the daily conveyance of the cases from the field hospitals to those established in Elvas. Further, by application to Lord Wellington, I got an order for Colonel Digby of the waggon corps, to attach two spring waggons to each corps employed in the siege.

Two days after my arrival from Elvas, soon after I had passed the Guadiana, on my way over to Badajoz, I suddenly heard a sharp fire of musketry, while at the same time some cannon-shot passed over my head. The musketry fire became very sharp, and I hesitated about entering our encampment. Lucky it was, also, that I did not, for the enemy had penetrated into it, having made a sortie, all the circumstances of which I heard in a very short time, when, on finding the fire had ceased, I cautiously approached the tents and, seeing red coats, entered.

Having ascertained the number wounded, and that the nature of the cases was in general slight, I set off on

my return to Elvas, and when nearly half way, met Lord Wellington and Marshal Beresford galloping very hard. They inquired most anxiously about the result of the sortie, of which when I had fully informed them, they proceeded more leisurely to our encampment.

It is unnecessary for me to detail the particulars of the siege; they have been duly described by many military writers: I will advert therefore only to one or two incidents.

Composing part of the corps employed in the siege of Badajoz, and encamped near the head quarter tents, was the 88th or Connaught Rangers, in the 5th division of the army, Sir Thomas Picton's column; and it may be readily supposed, when I had a moment of leisure, that I called to see the few officers who remained of my acquaintance in the Connaught Rangers. The first night that I remained out of Elvas, at the encampment, and before Lord Wellington had ordered a tent to be pitched for me at the head quarters, I took refuge with my old friends the Connaught Rangers, and got a spare tent with some straw in it and a blanket for the night, throughout which it rained incessantly, inundating the tent, round which I continued to shift my straw in search of the driest spot. In the morning I breakfasted with Captain Thomson, who afterwards, as I wished to see what was doing, and as the men of the 88th had that morning the duty in the trenches, took me into them to show me

that part of the soldier's duty. We were very soon obliged to creep on all fours as we advanced, for there were sharp-shooters on the look out, who popped at every head that appeared, and who, as it seems, were good marksmen, for they had killed many of our men in this way. Under the care of my friend Thomson, we returned in safety; but what was my horror when, in less than two hours after this, an officer of the 88th came to me with the information that our poor friend Thomson had been shot through the head, while engaged with a friend in the same manner as he had but so lately been with me. An officer of another regiment had called upon him immediately after his return from the trenches with me, and had also expressed a wish to see the state of the trenches; Thomson offered to accompany him, and they had proceeded but a short way, when Thomson, in bravado, stood up, looking directly at the spot from whence the shot came every now and then, believing he was out of reach, when he was struck on the head by a bullet, and fell dead.

The other incident has been a memorable one with me, for at the time it happened it made a strong impression upon me; and I have so often related it since its occurrence, that I am still able to give a faithful account of it.

On the 6th of April the engineers having reported the main breach practicable, it was known to those

about Lord Wellington, that an assault would be given that evening. I dined that day with Marshal Beresford, in his tent, contiguous to that of Lord Wellington; the company consisted chiefly of the marshal's staff. There was little conversation at table, but a young man inconsiderately said, "Of the number now present, how many will be alive and with their limbs whole this time to-morrow, or even four hours hence?" A dead silence of some continuance followed this observation, and the marshal gave the officer a look of displeasure. After dinner, all sallied out. I had determined to post myself near Lord Wellington, to receive any orders he might give to me, and I desired Dr. Forbes, afterwards Sir Charles Forbes, to accompany me, taking with him what I deemed necessary, in the event of Lord Wellington being wounded; and likewise intending to send him to any quarter it might be necessary to communicate with. By the time we reached Lord Wellington, who was on a hillock not far from the main breach, the storming party had advanced; the firing of shot, shells, and grenades, had commenced; and blue lights were thrown out which illuminated occasionally everything around us. I found myself in a situation similar to one I had been in years before, at an assault; but with this difference, that there we were the besieged, and here we were the besiegers.

Lord Wellington was attended only by two of his aides-de-camp, the Prince of Orange and the Duke of

Richmond, then Lord March, both young men. His lordship, on our coming up, was so intent on what was going on, that I believe he did not at first observe that Dr. Forbes and I had joined him. Soon after our arrival, an officer came up with an unfavourable report of the assault, announcing that Colonel McLeod and several officers were killed, with heaps of men, who choked the approach to the breach. At the place where we stood, we were within hearing of the voices of the assailants and of the assailed; and it was now painful to notice that the voices of our countrymen had become fainter, while the French cry of "Avancez, étrillons ces Anglais," became stronger. Another officer came up with a still more unfavourable report, that no progress was being made, and that he feared none could be made; for almost all the officers were killed, and none left to lead on the men, of whom a great many had fallen. At this moment I cast my eyes on the countenance of Lord Wellington, lit up by the glare of the torch held by Lord March; I never shall forget it to the last moment of my existence, and I could even now sketch it. The jaw had fallen, and the face was of unusual length, while the torchlight gave his countenance a lurid aspect; but still, the expression of the face was firm. Suddenly, turning to me and putting his hand on my arm, he said, "Go over immediately to Picton, and tell him he must try if he cannot succeed on the castle." I replied, "My lord, I have not my

horse, but I will walk as fast as I can, and I think I can find the way. I know part of the road is swampy." "No, no!" he replied, "I beg your pardon, I thought it was Delancey." I repeated my offer, saying I was sure I could find the way; but he said "No." In this very uncomfortable state of mind Lord Wellington had remained but a few minutes, when we heard a noise, and we all instantly said it was a horseman approaching. Immediately after this, a voice called out harshly and loudly, "Where is Lord Wellington?" We all five exclaimed, "Here! here!" "My lord," continued the officer, "the castle is your own;" and on being further questioned, he said, he believed that Sir Thomas Picton and the whole division were in possession. Lord Wellington conveyed some orders by this officer, and, if I recollect correctly, the purport of them was for Picton to push down into the town. After the departure of this officer, Lord Wellington sent information to the main breach of our being in possession of the castle, with orders "Now to push in, for the castle was in our possession, and they would now find little, if any, opposition;" then calling for his own horse and for those of the Prince of Orange and Lord March to be sent to them, he proceeded to the main breach, which was immediately entered, and, as is well known from the many published accounts, the town of Badajoz was forthwith in our possession. Accompanied by Dr. Forbes, I immediately followed.

It was grey dawn of day, but I shall never forget the horrible sights that met our eyes on every side as we entered by the breach, and after we had passed it. We had even then great difficulty in entering, and in picking our steps to pass the still formidable obstacles which met us on every side, at the sight of which we no longer wondered at the protracted assault, and at the difficulty the bravest soldiers, of what we considered the best army in the world, had met with in their attempts to storm it. The obstacles appeared to me insurmountable. On every side were to be seen half barrels of powder, with here and there a burning or smoking fuse among them, threatening explosions every instant. I need not dwell on the formidable nature of the defences, which have been over and over again described by military authorities.

In a little time the whole of the soldiers appeared to be in a state of mad drunkenness. In every street, and in every corner we met them forcing their way like furies into houses, firing through the keyholes of the doors so as to force the locks, or at any person they saw at a window imploring mercy. In passing some houses which they had entered we heard the shrieks of females, and sometimes the groans of those whom they were no doubt butchering. All was disorder and dire confusion. Three soldiers, whom we met in the streets, having lost all respect for the uniform of an officer, looked at him with a threatening aspect if

addressed; and if threatened, they would sometimes point their muskets at him.

In one street, I met General Philippon, the governor, with his two daughters, holding each by the hand; all three with their hair dishevelled, and with them were two British officers, each holding one of the ladies by the arm, and with their drawn swords making thrusts occasionally at soldiers who attempted to drag the ladies away. I am glad to say, that these two British officers succeeded in conveying the governor and his daughters safely through the breach, to the camp. With the exception of these ladies, I was told that very few females, old or young, escaped violation by our brutal soldiery, mad with brandy and with passion. At any other time, the rank and age of General Philippon, bare headed, with his grey hairs streaming in the wind, would have protected him from any soldiers. When I saw them pulling at these two ladies, and endeavouring to drag them away from their father, and the two young officers who so gallantly defended them at the peril of their lives, I could not forbear going up, and endeavouring with threats to bring to the recollection of two soldiers of my old regiment the 88th, how much they tarnished the glory which the Connaught Rangers had ever earned in the field, by such cowardly conduct. But it was only by my reminding them that I was an old Connaught Ranger, who felt for the glory of the corps, that I disarmed their rage towards me, and that

their raised muskets were lowered. Going towards the cathedral and castle, or wherever I went, I encountered nothing but a scene of savage riot and wild drunkenness, in which at length some of the wives even of our soldiers were active participators. It was said that Lord Wellington was met by a party of these drunken men, who desired to fire what they called a *feu de joie* in honour of him, and that they placed him in no small danger, by their manner of evincing their admiration of him, as they loaded and re-loaded their pieces, firing them off in all directions, and from drunkenness unable to comprehend the direction they fired in.

My principal object in entering the fortress was to ascertain, in some degree, the number of wounded, particularly of the officers, and the description of their wounds. I could accomplish this but very imperfectly, and from what I witnessed I had no doubt that the number of killed and wounded, both of officers and men, had been increased since we got possession of the place, from the horrible and brutal state of drunkenness the soldiery were in. I succeeded better outside the walls, and from the staff surgeons of the brigades engaged, as well as from the regimental surgeons, I collected a tolerably good account of their wounded, and the description of their wounds. I visited a good many of the officers, and returned to camp not a little ex-

hausted. I immediately made my way to Lord Wellington, and found him in his tent, writing the despatches. He received me most cordially, and after I had given him my detail, thanked me much. He was in excellent spirits; I therefore said, "I trust, my lord, you are satisfied that the medical officers during last night did their duty, as well as the military officers, and that you will receive my testimony that they discharged their arduous and laborious duties most zealously, and often under circumstances of personal danger of which they were regardless." He replied that "he himself had witnessed it." I then added, "Nothing could more gratify those officers, nothing could be a greater incentive to their exertions on future occasions, than his noticing them in his public despatches." He asked — "Is that usual." My reply was, "It would be of the most essential service;" and I ventured to add, that "really their extraordinary exertions gave them in justice a claim to this." He rejoined, "I have finished my despatch, — but, very well, I will add something about the doctors." When the gazette appeared, the medical officers of the army in England saw with delight that the merits of their brethren had been publicly acknowledged, in the same manner, as those of the military officers. This was the *first time* that their merits had been thus publicly acknowledged; and the example of Lord Wellington has been followed after every great action that has since been

fought; and some time afterwards the navy followed the example.*

From the great number of wounded the labours of the medical officers after the fall of Badajoz were immense. Their duties before and during the siege were heavy upon them. But it is after a siege or general engagement, when the military officer is in comparative ease, and with very light duties, that the toil of the medical officer is arduous in the extreme; and the fatigue of the mind is not less than that of the body. While laboriously employed from morning to night, the anxiety he feels frequently prevents the refreshment of sleep at night, when, wrapt in thought, and drawing constantly on his professional resources, he becomes care-worn and exhausted. It is at these times that his value is felt by the army at large, and that by the officers in particular he is caressed, flattered, and almost idolised. He nearly everywhere alleviates pain; in many instances he gets credit for saving life; and on all sides expressions of gratitude and eternal obligation are made to him. From what one sees and hears at such times, one might be led to fancy that the doctor would be cherished ever afterwards. But alas! those feelings are but too often the feelings of the moment only; they grow fainter and fainter with the lapse of time; and I have but too frequently observed, that the doctor and his

* See Appendix E.

doings have in a few years been quite forgotten; and when these have become the subject of conversation, it has been too often said, "Well, what more did he do than his duty? was it not the doctor's duty to have done all this?" I do not say that this is the cold transitory feeling of all military officers; for I know bright examples of the contrary in the highest ranks in the army and of civil life, who to their dying day have honoured as a cherished friend the medical officer, who in battle, or in dangerous illness, was their surgeon or physician. Yet, as the result of close personal observation, during a period of upwards of fifty years, I must affirm, that too frequently the feeling of gratitude has subsided in time; and even in instances where the attention has been extreme, and much beyond what the strict line of duty required of the medical officer. I have indeed known more than one instance where the surgeon, besides visiting the officer three or four times a day, when great pressure of fatiguing duty devolved upon him, after expending all the bandages he could get from the stores, has torn up his own shirts for bandages and dressings for his patients; while he has furthermore supplied not only all the wine required, but the very eatables from his own stock; and nothing but that constant kind attention saved life.

CHAP. XV.

Colonel Colquhoun Grant.

It was during the siege of Badajoz that, for the last time for along period, I saw my late much lamented brother-in-law, Colonel Colquhoun Grant, who was chief of the intelligence department of the army, and by no means the least distinguished for military talents of the many distinguished men who served with the Peninsular army. Equal to most officers of that army in military capacity, he far surpassed every one I ever met for the milder virtues of the Christian soldier, and for all that was amiable, kind, and benevolent in disposition. Colonel Grant was devotedly fond of his profession. He entered the army at a very early age, having I believe, hardly completed his fifteenth year. So desirous was he to be a soldier, that his mother could no longer retain him at school. His friend, General James Grant, gave him an ensigncy in his regiment, the 11th Foot, and through his kindness he obtained leave of absence to complete his studies at an academy near London, until he joined his regiment as a lieutenant.

Lord Wellington did not tarry long at Badajoz after its fall. During his absence the enemy had made an incursion on the other side of Portugal, and he hastened in pursuit of him. Having got the British and Portuguese sick and wounded comfortably accommodated at Badajoz and Elvas, in both which places the purveyors had fitted up every church, monastery, convent, and public building as hospitals, I followed the commander in chief; but before he departed, I accompanied him on a visit to the principal hospitals at Elvas, where our wounded were placed, and, in going round, he spoke kindly to many of the poor fellows as I pointed out their cases to him, and expressed himself much satisfied with the degree of comfort and cleanliness in which we had got them placed so speedily, and under such adverse circumstances.

Of the officers, some were desperately wounded, and were suffering much, particularly Sir George Walker, Sir James Kempt, and Colonel Pakenham the brother-in-law of Lord Wellington. Sir George Elder, who had led part of a division to the assault, was one of the severest sufferers.

When Lord Wellington proceeded to the north, he took all the army with him but the second division, which he left under Lord Hill. It was at this time, and when the French army under Soult was rapidly advancing upon Lord Hill's force, which had covered the siege of Badajoz, that my late brother-in-law,

Colonel Grant, was made prisoner by them, on the frontier of Portugal, while following his usual occupation of reconnoitring. As he himself more than once said to me, had he been in Spain instead of Portugal, he never should have been taken. Along the whole of the Spanish frontier, Colonel Grant was known, and wherever known, he was held in the greatest esteem. Of this I cannot here omit to mention a very singular instance. Employed on the same service, viz. that of the intelligence department, there was in singular coincidence another officer of the same name, and rank. What the peculiar features of his character might have been, I cannot take upon me to describe, but he and Colonel Colquhoun Grant were at the opposite poles in the estimation of the Spaniards; the latter they designated, the "Granto Bueno," the other the "Granto Malo."

Colonel Colquhoun Grant had a singular talent, not only for the acquisition of languages, but of the different dialects of languages. He was a proficient in those of all the provinces of Spain; was intimately acquainted with their customs, their songs, their music, and with all their habits and prejudices. He was moreover an enthusiastic admirer of the Spanish character; was well read in all their popular works, and he danced even their national dances most admirably. With such qualifications and predilections so flattering to the national sentiment of the Spaniards, in union

with a character of the most rigid morality, it will not be surprising that he was a favourite with them, particularly with their priests and peasantry, who spread his name and character so widely, and were so devotedly attached to him, that in the most critical situations, and when surrounded by posts of the French army, he was at all times secure.

In collecting accurate information of the French army, as he informed me, and as was well known to Lord Wellington, he was occasionally in their rear; where he obtained exact intelligence, not only of their number and equipment, but of the description of their troops, the manner in which their cavalry was mounted, the number and equipment of their guns, the state of their supplies, &c. He was acquainted not only with the character of each superior officer, but of that of each commandant of battalion. The hairbreadth escapes which he had were numerous; sleeping frequently in the fields under any shelter, or as it frequently happened without any, and in all kinds of weather, which he had done for two or three years. But, as he said, he always felt secure when in Spain, where one padre or peasant passed him on to another, all emulous to serve, and in admiration of the character of, the "Granto Bueno." As I have said, however, he did not feel so secure in Portugal; and, proceeding by the frontiers of that country to Spain to observe the state of the French army, when hastily retreating from the

incursion which they made into Portugal, information was conveyed to Marshal Marmont, that Grant, who had been so long formidable to him, and whose capture had been so much desired, was concealed somewhere near him. Colonel Grant, finding that he was discovered, and that parties were beating about near the house where he was concealed, mounted his horse, and made off, happily escaping many shots fired at him by some infantry. A party of cavalry was then sent in pursuit, when finding that they were nearing him, he got off his horse, and betook him to some inclosures, where, however, he was at length captured, and the more readily as he wore his uniform. Their exultation was great on getting him into their hands; and the French officers, who had heard of him and admired his character, crowded everywhere around him as he was brought to head quarters. They questioned him much about Lord Wellington, the English army, our losses at Badajoz, and Lord Wellington's further plans; and the superior officers were greatly out of humour, when they found they could draw no information from him.

He was carried under a strong escort to Salamanca, the head quarters of Marmont, where, on its being required of him, Colonel Grant gave his parole. But when brought before Marshal Marmont, who was unable by sifting to get much information from him respecting the British army, the marshal treated him somewhat

harshly, and said, "It is fortunate for you, sir, that you have that bit of red over your shoulders (meaning his uniform), if you had not, I would have hung you on a gallows twenty feet high." The colonel answered, "Marshal, you know I am your prisoner; and, recollect, I have given you my parole, but hitherto I have not been treated as an officer on parole." The marshal desired the French officer, who had conveyed Colonel Grant to his presence, to lead him away, and he was brought to a quarter which had been assigned to him, and was strictly guarded. Not only was a French sentinel placed at the door of his apartment, but an officer was placed in his room. Of this he complained greatly; and the French officers, who were daily appointed for this duty, all felt for a gallant officer, and did their duty lightly, leaving the apartment when any one called upon him; and he was visited by several of the principal inhabitants of Salamanca, to whom either by character or personally he was known. In fact, the whole population of Salamanca and its neighbourhood admired his deeds, his hairbreadth escapes, and of all things, the annoyance he had been to the French, whom they cordially hated. One of his most frequent visitors was Dr. Curtis, head of the Irish college at Salamanca, from whom I had the particulars which I now detail. The frequent visits of Dr. Curtis to Colonel Grant gave great offence to Marshal Marmont, who sent for the reverend gentleman. As Dr. Curtis related to me, the

marshal behaved very harshly to him, and threatened him much if he did not reveal what he said he was in possession of, i. e. the secrets of Colonel Grant. He said, "You frequently visit the English colonel." He replied, "I do." "How is it possible, sir, that you do so without having some purpose, some business therein?" He replied, "The holy Catholic religion, which you, marshal, and I, profess, enjoins us to succour the distressed, to visit the sick and the prisoner, and to administer comfort and consolation to them." The marshal rejoined, "He is not of your religion, he is a heretic, a Protestant." Dr. Curtis replied, "We are both Christians, we follow the precepts of our Saviour, and he is my countryman." The marshal said, "That is false, he is an Écossais, and you an Irlandais, and you shall immediately go to prison, unless you reveal to me secrets which I am informed the English colonel has confided to you, and which it is material to the interests of the emperor that I should be put in possession of."

He did not throw Dr. Curtis into prison; but he treated him most harshly, expelled him from his college, and took possession of his furniture, and a valuable library.

Even at this time, in Salamanca, Colonel Grant continued to convey much valuable information to Lord Wellington, and in this manner. Whenever the weather was favourable, he was permitted to walk out. On

such occasions, some of the Spanish peasants who had long been employed by him, got near to him; and he put into their hands, in small twisted pieces of paper, such information as he had collected; and they, as Lord Wellington afterwards informed me, carried these to head quarters, where they always received handsome rewards. I have reason to believe that the priests organised these messengers, trustworthy, hardy fellows, for this very dangerous vocation.

Not long after this, although Colonel Grant had given his parole, so formidable did he appear from the attachment to him of the priests and peasantry, and so universally was he known and admired by the Spaniards, that when Marmont sent him off to Bayonne, it was with an escort of 300 men and 6 guns, so fearful was he that a rescue might be attempted by the guerillas and peasantry.

However, to resume my narrative; I have said that Lord Wellington returned to the northward, from whence he drove the enemy, who had made an incursion into Portugal while he was employed in the siege of Badajoz.

Having completed the arrangements for the wounded at Elvas and Badajoz, so as to leave them tolerably comfortable in the hospitals, I, according to his orders, followed the commander-in-chief. At my first interview with him, he immediately entered on the subject of Grant's capture, and blamed him much for having

given his parole; as he told me, that before he had learned his having done so, he had offered a high reward to several of the guerilla chiefs for his rescue, if they brought him in alive.

Two days afterwards, Lord Wellington again entered on the subject with me, which appeared much to engross him. He lamented his capture extremely; and said that the want of the valuable information with which Grant was wont to furnish him was an incalculable loss to him. He added, "Sir, the loss of a brigade could scarcely have been more felt by me; I am quite in the dark about the movements of the enemy, and as to the reinforcements which they expected."

The day after this, and after my daily visit, when I reported to him the state of all the hospitals, he desired me to walk out with him. He then said, "Grant is a very extraordinary fellow, a very remarkable character. What think you of him, at this moment, when a prisoner, sending me information?"

He showed me two twisted bits of paper, which he said a Spanish peasant had brought in that morning, and he added; "The information coming from Grant, I know it is correct, and is most valuable." He then read to me a courteous reply to a letter which he had written to Marshal Marmont requesting the exchange of Colonel Grant, for whom he had offered any officer of the rank of colonel, of whom he had several as prisoners. In his reply, the marshal promised it

should be done, and expatiated on the inexpressible pleasure it would give him to have an opportunity of doing anything that might be agreeable to such an illustrious character as Lord Wellington, of whom, of all others, he was the greatest admirer. I expressed great joy at this, when he said sarcastically, 'Do you believe this? There is not a word of truth in his promise, for here I hold a French despatch from Marmont to the minister of war at Paris, which has been intercepted by Don Julian." The despatch of the marshal to the minister of war expressed great joy at the capture of Colonel Grant, whom the marshal described as a singular man, who had for so long a period done infinite mischief; to whom the Spanish priests and peasantry were devotedly attached, and who could be deterred by no threats or punishment from communicating with him and supplying him with every information for Lord Wellington. He added that he had sent him off with a strong escort, and recommended him to the strictest surveillance of the minister of the interior and police at Paris.

To the best of my recollection the despatch bore the same date with his letter to Lord Wellington, informing him of the pleasure he would have in sending Colonel Grant to his lordship in exchange for a French Colonel. It was supposed that Marmont identified the Colonel Grant, who had sometimes visited his camp, and Colonel Colquhoun Grant, as *one* and the same person,

and that may in some measure justify his severity to the latter; but my brother-in-law Colonel Colquhoun Grant considered the treatment as undeserved and not in accordance with that of an officer who had given his parole, and that it justified his making his escape should opportunity occur.

The subsequent history of Colonel Grant is curious. As I have said, he was conveyed to Bayonne under an escort of 300 men with six guns. On the march he entertained the French officers with several of his exploits, and the manner of his escape, when some of his hearers were in pursuit of him at different places. Gallant men themselves, they admired his courage and address, but whether any of them connived at his escape or not, I never could learn from Colonel Grant; if they did, he might think himself in honour bound not to reveal it. However, when the party arrived at Bayonne, it was in the evening; they halted in a place or square, and all busied themselves in procuring billets. Grant, finding himself alone, walked off, found his way to a place from whence the diligence started, took his place to Paris as an American, and soon after left Bayonne. When he was missed, he did not exactly know; but, as he afterwards heard, as soon as he was missed, parties of horse and foot were sent in search of him, the police and infantry soldiers searched every corner of Bayonne and of the environs, and parties of light cavalry scoured the whole country in

the direction of the Spanish frontier, making sure that he would endeavour to get through to Spain, where he had so many friends. The search for him was long continued, but no Colonel Grant was to be found; he had, in the meantime arrived in Paris, the last place in the world where they would have thought of looking for him.

On his arrival in Paris, he found his way to the house of Mr. McPherson, an eminent jeweller and a worthy highlander, of whose kindness to his countrymen he had heard much. This old gentleman had been many years a resident in Paris. During the time of the Revolution, he had been thrown into a dungeon by Robespierre, and had been doomed to the guillotine, but had escaped that death by the death of the monster Robespierre himself.

While with Mr. McPherson, as an American, and with an American passport, Grant moved freely about Paris; made it a point to be present at all the reviews, and by entering into conversation with various individuals, whom he met out of doors and at Mr. McPherson's table, got correct information of the reinforcements sent to all the armies, particularly that of Portugal. At Mr. McPherson's he frequently met a gentleman with whom he contracted some degree of intimacy. These two gentlemen, as acquaintances, became most acceptable to each other, and Grant gained much very valuable information from

him; and, extraordinary as it may appear, he continued to convey that information to Lord Wellington; which came to my knowledge in the following manner.

I do not exactly recollect where the British army was at this time in Spain; but one day, when I was with Lord Wellington on business, a day on which the mail for England was being made up at head quarters, Lord Wellington, addressing me, said, "Your brother-in-law is certainly one of the most extraordinary men I ever met with; even now, when he is in Paris, he contrives to send me information of the greatest moment to our government. I am now sending information of his to ministers of the utmost value, about the French armies in every quarter, information which will surprise them, and which they cannot by possibility get in any other way; and what is more, which I am quite sure is perfectly correct. Go into the next room, and desire Fitzroy * to show you the information from Grant enclosed in the despatch to Lord Bathurst." †

About this time, his friends, whom he met at Mr. McPherson's, told that gentleman to desire Grant to discontinue going to the reviews; and further, that he must remain quiet for some time, change his appearance if possible, and get a different passport. All this was accomplished. He assumed a different appearance, and got another American passport, that of an

* Lord Fitzroy Somerset, afterwards Lord Raglan.

† The letter to Lord Bathurst is mentioned in the Duke's despatches.

American gentleman recently deceased in Paris; but McPherson was further informed that the police were secretly-making inquiries for him; and it was decided that he must leave Paris. He did so, and got to the coast, off which he learned that a British man-of-war was stationed. For ten louis d'or he engaged an old French fisherman and his son to take him out to sea; but they became alarmed, and in the evening returned with him. As he told me, his situation then appeared to him more dangerous than it had been on any former occasion, for he was at the mercy of the two fishermen; and he knew what his fate would have been had he been re-taken at that time. To heighten the unpleasantness of his situation, his stock of money was very nearly exhausted.

On being put ashore, he determined not to stay where he was. He learned that not many leagues from where he was, a French marshal of Scottish descent, a relation of his mother's, had his seat, and he determined to make for it. He travelled the whole of that night, and during the following day remained concealed in a dry ditch, overhung with weeds. He resumed his journey the following night, and on the next day reached the mansion of the marshal. On obtaining an interview with him, and explaining the object of his visit, the marshal immediately acknowledged the relationship, and ordered refreshments for him; but said he did not think it would be safe for him to

prolong his stay in his house. The marshal, however, lent him 100 louis, with which he returned to the port he had left, where he hired another fishing boat. While passing the mouth of the harbour, some suspicion being aroused, a shot was fired which brought the boat to, until a party of soldiers could get on board to search. At this critical moment, when the sail was lowered, to be coiled round the mast, the fisherman put Grant upright close to the mast, twisting the sail round him, so that he was effectually concealed. The soldiers jumped on board, searched everywhere, and even probed several parts with their swords. The man had a quantity of fish on board to conceal his object; the soldiers took some of them, and desired the fishermen to proceed. On the following morning, the faithful fishermen conveyed him on board a British 74, and, as he informed me, his exultation on finding himself safe on the quarter-deck was considerable.

Great was my surprise on receiving a letter from him in London, wherein he complained much of the illiberality of the then Transport Board, and of the difficulty he had in getting those two poor fishermen released from an English prison who had so faithfully conveyed him from a position of such extreme danger.

Colonel Grant soon returned to the head quarters of the army in the Peninsula, and was most kindly welcomed by the duke and all the officers on his staff. He received promotion, served in the Peninsula during

the remainder of the war, and was afterwards at the Battle of Waterloo, where he held a superior staff appointment. He died at Aix la Chapelle, of disease contracted at Arracan, then part of Burmah, where he commanded a brigade. A monument is erected to his memory in the Protestant burying ground at Aix la Chapelle.* A notice of Colonel Grant will be found in the history of the Peninsular war by his friend, the historian, Colonel Napier, vol. iv. pp. 464–472.

* See Appendix F.

CHAP. XVI.

Retreat to Portugal.

After the siege of Badajoz, I returned with head quarters to Frenada.

Nothing remarkable occurred, till the movement of the army commenced, in the beginning of June.

It had been for some time evident, that preparations were making for an advance. The advance on Salamanca, the retreat of the French army thence, and their siege and capture of the fortified convents, were all matters of great interest to me, and I was enabled to view them narrowly, being in the neighbourhood of the Irish college, which I occupied, as our largest hospital. A remarkable circumstance occurred at this time. We were daily keeping up a heavy fire on the strongly fortified convents, and we had carried our works close up to them; the casualties to the besieging force were daily numerous, and we lost many officers. The progress of the siege was best viewed from a window in the upper part of the Irish college. This window was often had recourse to by the engineer and other officers; but the enemy knew this, and were very jealous of our inspec-

tion of them from it. There were constantly sharp shooters to pop at the window, when any one appeared to be near it. It was pierced with bullets in every direction. One afternoon, when I was taking a peep from the window, I observed an unusual bustle. I mentioned this circumstance to the engineer officer, who immedately said, "They are offering to surrender." We all ran down the stairs together; and the officer of engineers mentioned to Marshal Beresford, who happened to be near, that they had made a signal of desire to surrender. He immediately ordered a cessation of our firing; and, advancing with a few officers, of whom I was one, hoisted a white handkerchief, when the firing on both sides ceased. As no flag of truce approached from them, the marshal sent forward an officer bearing one. We followed at some paces distant; when from threatening signals forbidding our further advance, we stopped; and we saw that when our officer advanced to the gateway, they blindfolded him. We had not waited more than a very few minutes, when we observed the officer returning, who informed us that they had neither the desire nor the intention to surrender; for in two days we should be obliged to raise the siege; and further, that five minutes by the watch, were allowed us to get back, at the expiration of which time precisely, they would re-open their fire. As may readily be believed, we were not tardy in retracing our steps; in fact, we plainly saw their pre-

parations with the guns, and, furthermore, their sharp shooters taking up their ground.

The enemy's army was for several days in position opposite to us, within a short distance of the city of Salamanca. Every day a general action was looked for; but beyond some slight changes of position, one day followed another without anything taking place. To me the situation was one of real interest; and I daily rode out to our army, posted on a ridge of hills of no great elevation; that of the enemy being drawn out on an opposite range of heights, with a valley of little breadth between us, in which the pickets were placed. At this time desertion from our army was not unfrequent; particularly from the foreign corps in our service. One day I went to our pickets in the intervening valley, with the field officer of the day; and while there, I witnessed one of these desertions actually taking place. It was from the Chasseurs Britanniques, who were posted to the right of the 4th Division, with whose pickets I then was. I observed a man suddenly run forward; the cry was immediately, "a deserter," and several shots were instantly fired after him; but he ran hard, and in less than two minutes was with the French picket, his countrymen, as I was told, and that he was a serjeant. The French picket fired a few shots in return to ours. This occasioned a great bustle, for the whole of the division, hearing as they thought the entire picket engaged, and believing that the enemy

were advancing, ran to arms. I was in the act of ascending the height from the valley, when I met Sir Lowry Cole riding down to ascertain the state of affairs. He told us an action was about to commence, and entreated me instantly to go to the rear, saying, I was quite out of my place where I then was.

In a day or two after this, the French moved off from their position; the forts at Salamanca surrendered, and we followed the enemy.

By the beginning of July we reached Rueda, where head quarters remained for some time after the battle of Salamanca.

After this great battle, my own labours, as well as those of all the medical officers were very arduous.

By the desire of Lord Wellington, I repeatedly wrote to him, on the state of the wounded, and particularly respecting the officers, the nature of their wounds, and those likely to prove fatal. I received three letters from his lordship; in two of which he pressed me much to join head quarters, but in the third in such terms that I immediately set off.

At several places on my route I found considerable numbers of sick. Some of them were left by the parties of recruits proceeding to the army, who had fallen ill in the long march from Lisbon: many others had been left sick by the divisions of the army on their march from Salamanca to Madrid. The causes

of the diseases of the greater part of the soldiers were dissipation and drunkenness; but not a few officers were likewise sick at those places. Some of them who had been wounded at the battle of Salamanca, and would not be restrained from proceeding with their regiments, arrived at the Spanish capital. The situation of some of these parties, men and officers, was in many instances most deplorable. Not only without medicine and medical attendance, but also without provision of any kind, many of them were fast sinking in the last stage of disease, and not a few officers as well as men had died without having been seen by a medical man. I everywhere went round and visited them, but was powerless to help them.

I sent orders to the principal medical officer in Salamanca, to despatch medical and purveying officers to each of those stations where I had found parties of sick and wounded officers and soldiers. At the same time I wrote to the deputy commissary general of Salamanca, informing him of the destitute condition those stations were in, and I recommended him immediately to send a store of provisions to each place, with proper commissariat officers. In doing this, I felt that I was not only obeying the dictates of humanity, but another recollection came to my mind.

When, on my arrival at Madrid, I waited on Lord Wellington, he received me in the kindest and warmest

manner. He was sitting to a Spanish painter for his portrait, and after receiving me, he asked me if I was not too much busied to sit down and give him the detail of the state of the wounded at Salamanca, with that of my journey thence. I related to him the number of sick I had met with at so many places, and their miserable state. But when I came to inform him that for their relief I had ordered up purveying and commissariat officers, he started up, and in a violent manner reprobated what I had done. It was to no purpose that I pleaded the number of seriously ill and dying I had met with; and that several men and some officers had died without ever having been seen by a medical officer. I even alluded to what had formerly occurred at Talavera, and to the clamour raised in England when it was known that so many wounded and sick had been left to the mercy of the enemy. All was in vain. His lordship was in a passion, and the Spanish artist, ignorant of the English language, looked aghast, and at a loss to know what I had done to enrage his lordship so much. "I shall be glad to know," exclaimed his lordship, "who is to command the army? I or you? I establish one route, one line of communication for the army; you establish another, and order the commissariat and the supplies by that line. As long as you live, sir, never do so again; never do anything without my orders." I pleaded that "there was no time to consult him to save life."

He peremptorily desired me "never again to act without his orders." Hereupon I was about to take my leave, when in a lower tone of voice, he begged I would dine with him that day, and of course I bowed assent.

At dinner, the duke showed me unusual civility and marked attention; desiring me to sit next to him on his left, the Prince of Orange always sitting on his right hand. The guerilla chief, El Medico (in English "The Doctor"), dined there that day. His lordship introduced us to each other, and was very humorous; calling us brothers of the profession of medicine; but, said, "I had not so much distinguished myself in a military capacity as my Spanish brother."

We received rather sudden orders to march from Madrid. Our first night's halt, that of head quarters, was at the Escurial; from whence we moved to Burgos, to which we laid siege and, as is well known, without sufficient means.

Our entrance into Valladolid was effected, and I had to establish an hospital for our wounded. In doing this, I received anything but aid from the Bishop of Valladolid; and we had a very angry contest. He appealed to Lord Wellington, who by no means approved of his want of humanity.

On the 19th September I arrived with my establishment at Burgos, the castle of which was then invested. I had a miserable quarter, in a poor dilapidated

house in the suburb, a few yards distant only from that occupied by Lord Wellington.

As is well known, we met with nothing but discomfiture in our attempts upon the castle of Burgos. We lost a number of men. The wounded were numerous, we were without adequate hospital accommodation, and the cases were of the severest character.

In my usual morning visits to his lordship, with reports of the sick and wounded of the army, when I met the heads of the departments, and likewise the chief engineer, who had nothing but an unfavourable report to give, Lord Wellington was often in bad humour, for everything went wrong with him. This, therefore, was the period of his life when fortune seemed to turn her back upon him. At length, after daily losses of numbers of men and officers, discontent was not silent even among the officers themselves; for they saw that, without means, particularly in artillery, they were knocking their heads against stone walls without the least prospect of making any impression upon them. One morning, I was in his lordship's small apartment, when two officers were there requesting leave to go to England. One of them, an officer in the Engineers, Captain * * * *, first made his request; he had received letters informing him that his wife was dangerously ill, and that the whole of his family were sick. His lordship quickly replied, "No, no, sir! I cannot at all spare you at this moment."

Captain * *.* *, with a mournful face and submissive bow, retired. A general officer, of a noble family, and who commanded a brigade at Burgos, next advanced, saying, "My lord, I have of late been suffering much from rheumatism —" Without allowing him time to proceed further, Lord Wellington rapidly said, "and you must go to England to get cured of it. By all means. Go there immediately." The general, surprised at his lordship's tone and manner, looked abashed, while he made a profound bow; but to prevent his saying anything in explanation, his lordship immediately addressed me, inquiring the casualties of the preceding night, and the nature of them.

I have said, that the daily disappointment, and the unfavourable morning reports of the result of our operations against the castle, while they at length raised a spirit of discontent, made his lordship fretful. This all felt who came in contact with him; but I escaped entirely, except on one occasion, in regard to my department; when he expressed himself so hastily as to hurt my feelings. I felt it acutely; because I felt that neither I nor the medical officers deserved it. On the evening of the day on which this occurred, he wrote me a note, requesting I would come up to him immediately, as he wished much to speak to me. I felt unwell; so much so, indeed, that I had applied a few leeches to my head,

which relieved me by the time his note arrived. I could then have gone, and waited upon him; but my pride had been wounded by him in the morning. I felt that I, personally, and the medical officers, had made extraordinary exertions; and that no part of the army was more warmly animated by zeal for the service than the medical officers. I therefore wrote an apology for not calling on him that evening.

Finding myself quite recovered in the morning, I went at an early hour to Lord Wellington's quarters, but found that he had set off, with the whole of his personal staff, for the army in advance, at two o'clock in the morning. I immediately proceeded after him, and found the whole of our force in position, drawn out in line opposite to that of the enemy. Lord Wellington, surrounded by the staff, was in the act of using his glass when I came up, viewing narrowly the French line. On some one calling out my name he turned round, and taking me by the arm took a turn to the rear with me. He said, "We cannot keep Madrid. Hill is obliged by an overwhelming force, to quit his position; he is in fact on the march towards us, and I must leave this place this very night. But what is to become of our sick and wounded? I fear they are numerous; and of the wounded there are many who cannot be moved. What do you propose to do?" I replied: I was happy to inform him, our sick and wounded were not numerous; that, seeing how much

his mind was occupied with the siege, I got from the commissary general all the carts and mules that came up with provision for the army; and by them, on their return, had daily sent back every one that could be moved to the hospitals which I established at Valladolid. "Very well, indeed," said he. "But how many have you now at Burgos hospital?" I replied: that with the conveyance I expected that day, I hoped to have only about sixty men and officers; and those would be cases of severe wounds, recent amputation, and fractures which would not bear movement. He quickly rejoined: "Admirable! I shall be off to night: make your own arrangements, quietly, and quickly: but be most careful not to let a syllable of my intention of moving escape you." He then desired me to be off immediately; and without communicating with any one, though no doubt the group of officers had some curiosity to know what he had had to say to me which so urgently took him away from reconnoitring the instant he found I was near him. I should have said, that he asked if I meant to take any steps with the cases to be left behind; when I informed him, that I would attach two careful medical officers with a deputy purveyor, provided with a sum of money. I said also, that I would write a letter to be given to the principal medical officer of the French army who might come in, recommending the wounded,

and our three officers, to his kind care. All this he further approved of.

I immediately went back; saw all the wounded men and officers; selected those to be left behind, and gave orders, towards evening, in written instructions to the two medical officers and the deputy purveyor to be left behind; so that the intention of removal remained a secret till it was nearly dark, and we were all ready to march.

As soon as this was known, I was besieged by notes and messages from the wounded officers to be left behind, entreating me not to leave them. One of them, a gallant and distinguished officer, Colonel McKenzie Fraser, of the Guards, the son of my excellent friend the late General McKenzie Fraser, was particularly importunate. Fraser's leg had been amputated by the late Mr. Rose, surgeon of the Guards, but two days before; he was in no condition to be moved. He pressed me hard, however; said he was sure he should die if left behind, so that I was obliged to consent to his going, and to endeavour to make up a litter, on which he might be carried by some soldiers. But I feared he would sink by the way.

Having given final orders to the three medical officers who were to remain behind, and started the cases to be sent on, I set off myself a little after dusk. We marched all night, and halted about daylight in the morning, when I visited as many of the cases as I

could, receiving the reports of the medical officers who accompanied them. I saw poor Fraser who had got on better than I expected, and was able to take some tea which I had ordered to be made for him. The army did not commence its march till about midnight; the rear in passing near the castle of Burgos was fired upon; and soon after the French army, having discovered that we were off, pursued us. As is well known, our retreat was disastrous enough; not less so from the fire of a pursuing enemy than from the irregularities of our own men. The second night, I got under cover, in a house which was occupied by I believe 400 or 500 men, who actually slept as close together as though packed in a barrel.

We reached Valladolid, where at one time I had more than 2000 sick and wounded. I hastened the departure of all such as could march, and of all that could bear conveyance, to Salamanca; and sent pressing orders to the principal medical officers at Salamanca, Ciudad Rodrigo, and the intermediate post to Oporto, to hurry on the evacuation of those hospitals. These were in addition to orders to the same purport which I had issued from Burgos.

Lord Wellington, with head quarters, made a halt, and encamped near Valladolid. He defended the bridge in front of Valladolid and held the passage there as long as he could, that the army might be enabled to retreat in order.

With the late Dr. James Forbes, and the clerks of my establishment, I was encamped near Valladolid. The office was in full employment, as it always was on the march, or whenever I thought that I could command two or three hours to carry on the correspondence with the divisions of the army, and with the hospital establishment, at this time widely spread over Spain and Portugal, when an orderly came with a note from Lord Wellington, desiring to see me as soon as possible. Mounting immediately, I rode very hard, and found him at the post on the bridge, against which a very heavy cannonade was kept up by the enemy. I found his lordship in the upper floor of a small house, which was riddled with shot. The house was on a small eminence, near the bridge. I found Mr. Sydenham of the Madras Civil Service, a friend of Lord Wellington's, with him. On my entering he came quickly from a window with his glass in his hand, and eagerly inquired about the hospitals in Valladolid, and the wounded there, saying: "I fear our numbers are very great." Indeed, they had lately amounted to 2000. He proceeded: "What is to be done? for, you see, we must be off from this place, and conveyance there is none." I said, the number was small; and when I told him that officers and soldiers included, it did not exceed 100, for I had been daily laying hands on all the carts as well as the mule conveyance I could find to send them on to Salamanca, he rapidly replied,

"And you have made Salamanca choke full. I cannot stop there." "No," I rejoined; "they are in movement from Salamanca on Ciudad Rodrigo, and from that to the Pise hospital buildings which we erected near the Douro, and move from thence on Oporto, with instructions to the principal medical officer there to have them in readiness for embarkation, should that be necessary." Turning quickly, he said, "Sydenham, this is excellent. Now I care not how soon we are off." I added, addressing him, "My lord, you recollect how much you blamed me at Madrid for the steps which I took on coming up to the army, when I could not consult your lordship, and acted for myself as I had done. Now, if I had not, what would the consequences have been?" He added, "It is all right, as it has turned out; but I recommend you still to have my orders for what you do." This was a singular feature in the character of Lord Wellington.

It was near sunset when I left his lordship; and I had not gone far, before it became dark, when I lost my way, and found myself in an encampment of Spaniards. This was not all, for my noble animal, my horse, poor Pat, to whom I was fondly attached, was quite knocked up. We had journeyed from morning till night; I had not got a particle of food for him, and I myself felt sorely the cravings of hunger. At last, leading my horse, I reached at midnight the encampment I had

left in the morning; but found, to my dismay, that everything, my clerks, servants, office establishment, baggage and horses, were all gone. I could see, by the light of a bright moon, the ashes of the fire I had left when I set off. From the noise which I heard, I could easily make out that the army was in full retreat. I was so near the river, that I could distinctly hear the French, who were encamped on the opposite side, but I had no means of moving, and even if I could crawl on myself, I could not bear the thought of leaving poor Pat behind, who had carried me so many hundreds of miles. Hungry and wearied, I endeavoured to collect some sticks in the wood, with which to make a fire by stirring up the expiring embers. But it commenced raining, and I found it impossible.

I tied poor Pat's bridle to a tree; he was much exhausted. I collected some grass; but he would not eat, and I had no bread or biscuit to offer him. I laid me down in my cloak with my feet towards the ashes and embers. I heard a moan from Pat. I found him shivering; I put my cloak over him, and laid myself down again upon the ground; but finding myself cold and chilly from the rain which fell, I resumed my cloak. In a short time, I found Pat shivering exceedingly; I again put my cloak over him, and thought I could walk about; but I was extremely fatigued, and faint from hunger. All this time, I could most distinctly hear the noise in the enemy's camp, close by, on the

other side of the river, and, by the sounds, I could distinguish that they were preparing to march. At length, daylight came; and I found a great number of the followers of our army in full retreat. I learned from them that there was a post of ours about a league off. Leading Pat, who could move but slowly, I made for the post, and reached it with some difficulty. I found a subaltern, with a veterinary surgeon and a few dragoons, stationed there in charge of the stores. After describing my situation to them, they, in the kindest manner, offered me breakfast. But first, I begged for Pat's necessities, and the veterinary surgeon took him in hand. Both Pat and I got refreshment, and I went to sleep. In the forenoon I got up, and the veterinary surgeon had by that time found that my servants, horses, and baggage were but a few miles further on. I found that Pat could now get on, and in the evening I got up to my baggage. I went to bed; but had not been asleep an hour, when orders arrived for our moving on with all expedition. Our retreat continued to be a hurried one; and, as is well known, very disorderly. We made little halt till we came to Salamanca. On the retreat thither, great were the disorder, insubordination, and intemperance: I never witnessed the like! One day, I am sure, I saw five hundred men at least in a state of beastly intoxication. All subordination was gone, all alike, English, Scots, and Irish, were equally the slaves of drunkenness, and the consequent

state of insubordination was awful. Had the enemy come upon us at the time, we should have been an easy prey to him.

There was perhaps some excuse for them. They were in want of provisions; and the commissariat was blamed; although, I think, without much reason. They had a difficult task at the moment of retreat; and in one division at least, where the utmost disorder prevailed, it is said, that they were provisioned on the march, but improvidently they made away with their provisions, and in consequence were for some days without food. The extreme displeasure of Lord Wellington was loudly expressed against more than one quarter. He at one time forcibly said, "The medical department is the only one which will obey orders; on them I can rely for doing their duty." But at this time the duty of every department was unpleasant, and most arduous.

After a short halt at Salamanca, we proceeded on our retreat. I found it necessary to leave about eighty cases of badly wounded in the hospital at Salamanca, and left two medical officers with a purveyor provided with money, in charge of them.

Soon after the passage of the bridge of Salamanca, having given my last directions to the senior medical officers (for the enemy was seen preparing to enter by one of the gates as we passed out at the other), I received a most severe kick from a horse upon my knee, which I first thought had fractured the bones.

After several attempts to move forward with my horse, the pain was so intolerable, accompanied with sickness and faintness, that I felt constrained to dismount, and to be laid upon the ground; where I became at length reconciled to remain and to being made a prisoner; for the enemy were manœuvring in pursuit of us. My friends about me, in particular Dr. Forbes, went every where in search of a cart, being determined to construct some conveyance by which to carry me off, and not to let me fall into the hands of the enemy. Lord Wellington heard of my situation, and instantly ordered his carriage (the only one in the army) to take me up, and in the course of this day he came most kindly to make inquiry for me.

I suffered extreme pain, even from the motion of his comfortable easy carriage; but it was ascertained that no bone was broken, although inflammation ran very high. On the following day, the colonel of the Waggon Corps provided one of the best of the spring waggons for me; and accompanied me himself. By the time I reached Ciudad Rodrigo, though still lame, I could move about.

Lord Wellington sent for me as soon as he arrived at Ciudad Rodrigo.

I shall never forget the interview. I found him in a miserable small room, leaning over the fire. He was attentively reading some printed paper. He begged me to be seated. I could see that the paper he was reading was Cobbett's Register, just received with the

letters from England. After perusing it for a few minutes, he threw it into the fire, and anxiously inquired what reports I had of the sick and wounded. He was in very bad humour; he adverted in bitter language to the disorder of the retreat, and indicated especially some divisions of the army, as, also, some officers in particular. Inquiring of me, then, what accounts I could give him of the sick, he reverted anew to the disorder of the retreat, and read to me a severe order, which he said he would issue to the army. This order subsequently made a great deal of noise, not only in the army, but throughout England. After recounting to him that I had effected almost the complete evacuation of the hospitals at Burgos, Valladolid, Salamanca, and even Ciudad Rodrigo, and that I had further directed the principal medical officer at Oporto to be prepared in case any sick should be sent there; I proposed stopping the further transport of sick, and also of such as might turn up. He replied quickly, "No; I cannot say that we will stop here, or that the Aguadia will bring us up; they may pursue us further." The enemy did not pursue us further. Head quarters were re-established at Frenada, and I with the medical staff and clerks attached to me, occupied our old quarters at Castello Bom, where we remained for the winter, which proved a severe one.

CHAP. XVII.

The Army in Winter Quarters at Frenada.

Castello Bom was, as I have already mentioned, a miserable place, a ruined castle, with the remains of about fifty cottages. The inhabitants had formerly consisted of about 150 or 200 souls, but by famine and starvation, as I have said, their numbers had been greatly reduced; indeed the place had a most melancholy and dilapidated appearance, there being only about twenty or thirty living persons in it, and they looked more dead than alive.

After we took up our abode, they improved in their appearance, owing, I really believe to what we gave them in charity. There were only two individuals in the place with whom we could associate; the priest, and the juiz de foro, or magistrate; but neither of them had their minds much cultivated. The priest was a pious good man, who appeared to discharge his duties most scrupulously to his miserable flock. He frequently partook of my dinner. His abode was a miserable cottage of two rooms, inhabited by himself

and his mother, an aged, wretched looking female. One of the apartments was at the same time the dormitory of the priest, and a kind of store for provisions; the other served both as a kitchen and the bed room of the old lady. They had no servant, and the domestic duties appeared to be performed by the poor old woman. She was without shoes, and the earthen muddy floor was in different places imprinted with the shape of her large feet. I understood, however, that the males and females of the poor pastor's flock readily rendered any assistance that might be wanted by him and his mother. He told me that, in the winter, he and his mother lived entirely on bacon and chestnuts, and showed me where these were piled up in the corner of his dormitory. He received wine from his flock, when they had any. The pastor was a man of mild gentle manners; not so our only other associate here, the juiz de foro, a very rough, coarse man in appearance, and manner; but with all, very good natured. Whenever he dined with me, I could not push the bottle too far with him. At length, some of my party wished to make the experiment how far they could do it; but in spite of every artifice, they did not succeed in finding out the profundity of his stomach; he drank bottle after bottle of port wine, and he even qualified it with a glass or two of Scotch whiskey, which he called "nuevo," praising it much; but without betraying any symptoms of intoxication, and when the

party broke up, he showed but little inclination to take his departure.

Our party here consisted of Mr. Gunning, the surgeon in chief of the army, Dr. James Forbes, Mr. James, the purveyor general of the army, Mr. Hodges, the purveyor, and Mr. Croft, who was at the head of my office, Mr. Wallington, Mr. Burney, and two other gentlemen attached to the office. Dr. Hume, the surgeon at head quarters, and other officers, frequently joined our party, and I had visits from Dr. Fergusson, Dr. Robb, Dr. Neile, and the medical officers of divisions of the army.

After the retreat, and when the army had got into quarters, the duties of the medical officers were most arduous.

From the first returns made by the divisions of the army, the number of missing was prodigious. They were said to be sick; but I could give Lord Wellington no correct account of them, having received no reports of their having reached any hospital. The general belief was that they were in the hands of the enemy. However, in the course of a fortnight, a greater number of stragglers than was expected turned up; but a very great number of men, who, from intoxication, irregularities, or fatigue, had dropped behind, were found in a state of disease and incapable of movement. Not a few were found dead, and had not the enemy retired so soon, all these sick and stragglers would have

fallen into their hands. The disasters of the retreat, and the general prevalence of disease and mortality, were not apparent till a considerable time afterwards. Contagious typhus fever seized a great portion of the army, and our loss was great. It was even said by several of the officers who had retreated with Sir John Moore to Corunna, that the retreat from Burgos, and its consequences, were not much less disastrous, nor attended with less loss.

At the first interview which I had with Lord Wellington, on his arrival at Ciudad Rodrigo, and after he had hastily committed Cobbett's Register to the flames, he said to me, when in much vexation about his retreat, "I never knew till now, nor believed, how unjustly poor Moore had been dealt with in the outcry raised against him in England about his retreat. I consider him the worst used man that ever lived. Nothing is so unmanageable as a British army in retreat, or when foiled."

At length, after parties had been sent out in various directions to collect the stragglers, and I was able to ascertain the number of our sick, and to get them housed, I found the numbers were very great, and, from the causes which existed, would continue so for a long time, contagion spreading on every side. But I felt it my duty to lay all this fully before his lordship, together with the small number of medical officers compared with the formidable number of sick, especially

as they were spread over such an extent of country. Another evil existed of no less moment, the absolute want of hospital accommodation of any description for a tenth part of our sick.

I suggested remedies for all those formidable evils, which Lord Wellington instantly adopted, and with his wonted energy gave me every means of carrying into execution. He forwarded to England my demand for medical officers of every class, and a requisition that every medical officer absent on leave should be instantly sent out.

As, however, a considerable time would necessarily elapse before this aid could reach us, I proposed taking into our pay all the Spanish medical officers I could find, with such of the French medical officers, our prisoners of war, as would take employment; and I recommended the English pay instead of their own. This bait took, for I do not think one of those gentlemen refused, and I posted them to the hospitals in the rear, that they might be out of the temptation of deserting to their countrymen. I had my friend Dr. Thomas Araji, the Spanish professsor of Valladolid, who was perfectly master of the English language, as well as of the French, attached to my office, as correspondent, and to enlist his countrymen. Of these he obtained a few only, but they proved to be very useful. However, with the French and Spanish medical officers in our employment, the gap was filled

up, till a reinforcement of British medical officers arrived from England. Then, in regard to the absolute want of hospitals, I had an excellent opportunity of putting in full execution my long-cherished plan of regimental hospitals, which I had quietly introduced. This rendered it more easy now to establish them on a large scale, and universally; for a great many of the surgeons had been in the habit of establishing them temporarily on a small scale: they therefore had only to work on a more extensive one, from a model which was familiar to them.*

Every corps therefore had orders from me to construct its own hospital, under the superintendence of the staff surgeon of the brigade or division of the army to which the corps belonged. This was done in general in a most efficient manner, and everywhere was to be seen a comfortable hospital for the sick, surgeon and commanding officer vying with each other who would

* The wisdom of these measures is adverted to in the following words by the historian of the Peninsular War: —

"Confidential officers, commissioned to detect abuses in the general hospitals and depôts, those asylums for malingerers, discovered and drove many to their duty. The second division alone recovered six hundred bayonets in one month; and this salutary measure was rendered more efficient by the establishment of both permanent and ambulant regimental hospitals, a wise measure, and founded on a principle which cannot be too widely extended: for it is certain that, as the character of a battalion depends on its fitness for service, a moral force will always be brought to bear upon the execution of orders, under regimental control, which it is in vain to look for elsewhere." — *Napier's History of the Peninsular War*, vol. v. p. 503.

construct the best and most comfortable hospital for his corps. I made the purveyor supply them with such stores as each regimental surgeon required, and to each corps was sent an assortment of medicines and wine.

In a short time, the march of sick from regiments to the established hospitals in the rear was stopped; and it was high time, for the number that died on the way, of those sent to the rear, was very great. When this was firmly established, and each corps had its own hospital, where all its sick were treated under its own medical officers, who were well acquainted with the character and conduct of each individual in the corps, I went on an inspection tour to visit them; and I was particularly desirous to see the distant established general hospitals in Portugal, which I inspected at Guarda, Celerico, Viseu, and Coimbra. From thence I made an excursion to the Tras os Montes, and to Gimuerens, where were the famous baths and mineral wells of Caldas, which I desired to examine, in order that, if required, I might establish an hospital for such cases as needed the baths or waters.

By this time the army of the enemy having likewise suffered much in their pursuit of us, and in partial small actions in a most inclement season, halted at Salamanca, and both armies went into winter quarters; upon which Lord Wellington proceeded to Cadiz.

During the time we were in quarters, the chief duty

of the army fell on the medical officers, which was most laborious, in some cases overwhelming; and in a great many instances the medical officers fell a sacrifice to their zeal and humane exertions. Worn down by the harassing fatigue they underwent, they were seized frequently with the contagion of the typhus fever they were treating, and too often they fell a sacrifice to it.

At this time the chief duty of the military officer was to sit at court-martials upon officers and men; for irregularities during and after the retreat were numerous, and Lord Wellington had determined to curb them effectually.

The inspection which I made of the large general hospitals was a very necessary one, and much was to be done at each. Fever of a low type was the prevailing disease; indeed, it was general, and the mortality was high. It was most prevalent in the large hospital station at Celerico, and among the troops quartered in that district; but in the Guards particularly.

Nothing could have been better devised for arresting its progress in the army than the establishment of separate regimental hospitals in the cantonments of each corps, instead of sending the sick to a large general hospital which would have been crowded, and where, by concentration, the virulence of the contagion would have been increased.

During his absence at Cadiz and Lisbon, Lord Wellington desired that I would regularly forward to him the weekly state of our hospitals. The number of the army laid up was excessive, and the mortality was so high as to make a demand for reinforcements from England absolutely necessary, and this his lordship pressed on the British ministry, as well as a great addition to our medical staff; although, as already stated, we had in pay a great many French, Spanish, and Portuguese medical officers; but I found many of them ignorant and inefficient, and they by no means made up for the want of British physicians and surgeons.

Immediately on the return of Lord Wellington from Cadiz and Lisbon to head quarters, I was sent for by him, when he fully discussed all these matters, and instantly agreed to my proposals. I stated to him my perfect satisfaction with the regimental hospitals, which were by that time established in every corps in the army; but I thought it my duty to state, that if the operations in the ensuing campaign should be more extended, or even on the same scale as the last, and at a distance from large towns, we should feel sorely the want of buildings for general hospitals, to receive such cases of disease or wounds as would not bear conveyance.

On my usual morning visit with my reports on the following day, he told me he had had some conversation

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tention to two main points only,—

that it must be at no great distance from a wood, on account of our want of transport of the materials, and that it was necessary it should be at no great distance from the Douro, so that, if requisite, the hospital might be evacuated and the sick conveyed to the hospital at Oporto; and perhaps that some intermediate station might be advisable between our large hospital and Oporto. He desired me to consider this conversation as most strictly confidential; that I should enjoin silence upon the subject to Mr. James, the purveyor-general, and communicate to him only so much as was absolutely necessary.

Before proceeding further respecting the formation of this hospital, I may here state that not long after this conversation, upon my going to him one morning at my usual hour with the reports of the sick, he asked me to walk out with him, and after eagerly inquiring the number of the convalescents who I thought could be sent to their corps in a month, he said, "By the bye, your hospitals are ordered out and may soon be expected. By a despatch from Lord Bathurst which I received by the English mail, sent to head quarters this morning, I find that they ordered them instantly, and were embarking them in three vessels, with two master carpenters and twelve carpenters to put them up and take them down, and to teach our artificers how to do this; but they will be a vast expense to the country." I was certainly surprised, for, from all

that had passed, I merely thought that my suggestion, which I had not pressed, had passed unheeded from his lordship's mind. He ended by saying, "You must let me know at what places you would wish to have them; they will be landed at Oporto, but you must have them at no great distance from the Douro, for I have no conveyance to a distance."

As ordered, I proceeded with Mr. James, the purveyor, to look out for a place where an hospital could be constructed; and I fixed on a spot within a short distance of the Douro, where stores, &c., could be brought up from Oporto. It was near Castello Rodrigo. I consulted with the chief engineer, who got orders from Lord Wellington to construct it according to a plan which I gave in; and, in fact, it was to consist of several streets of small houses or cottages, of what are called Pise buildings.

By the extraordinary exertions of the medical officers, particularly at the large general hospitals in Lisbon, Coimbra, Oporto, Viseu, and Celerico, a very large body of sick were sent out of the hospitals cured; and the weather being fine after their march, they joined the divisions of the army in firm health. Lord Wellington was highly pleased, as the number sent from the hospitals fit for duty was so much greater by some thousands than he had expected. Reinforcements having likewise joined from England, he determined on instantly commencing the campaign.

CHAP. XVIII.

Battles of Vittoria and Toulouse.

The day before that on which head quarters were to advance, I had a very long interview with Lord Wellington on the arrangements for the medical department. I expressed an opinion strongly on some points, which, as he negatived, I deemed I had only to submit to the decision of the Commander-in-chief, and did not express a word more. On returning to my quarter, however, at Castello Bom, and when in bed, I received by an orderly dragoon a letter on two sheets of foolscap paper, giving in detail and in his own handwriting his lordship's reasons for dissenting from me. I was not a little surprised at his sending any explanation, for his decision on any point was final, and it was my duty merely to carry his orders into execution. Again, this letter of such extraordinary length was written at a time when other business, the most important, was on his mind, previous to his moving the whole army against the enemy and opening the campaign. The provisioning of the army, the complicated details of conveyance, the raising of supplies, the different arrangements regarding the

heavy artillery and engineer departments,—all these and endless arrangements for so large an army, with those for our allies the Spanish and Portuguese, being upon his mind, it often astonished me that, on the very eve of his departure, he should have devoted so much time in writing a letter to me on points of less immediate consequence, upon which I had ventured to submit opinions not in accordance with those he entertained.

At this time the army advanced on three lines: Lord Hill on one route to the right; Sir Thomas Graham, afterwards Lord Lynedoch, on another to the left; and Lord Wellington with the centre directly against Salamanca. For the first time, with the other civil departments, I was separated from head quarters, and proceeded with the column which moved from the left. I think it was about the 22nd of May when we advanced.

Before the campaign was opened, the number of convalescents who joined their regiments was very considerable, and, as I have said, astonished even Lord Wellington, who at this time felt how efficient was the body of medical officers we then had, how invaluable their experience, how unbounded their zeal and devotion to the service, and how high their professional talents. Their zeal had been much stimulated by the great promotion of deserving officers, which at my recommendation his lordship had carried out for them at home.

But, even during the march, considerable bodies of the convalescents from our far-famed hospitals were daily joining their respective corps; and it was said with much truth by an eminent individual, that he thought the extraordinary exertions of the medical officers of the army might be said to have decided the day at Vittoria, for their exertions had undoubtedly added a full division in strength to Lord Wellington's army, and without those 4000 or 5000 men it is more than doubtful if his lordship, with all his unrivalled talents, could have carried the day. Perhaps, without that material addition to his force, he would not have risked an action.

After long and rapid marches through the north of Spain, and through a beautiful country, but with precipices and defiles almost impassable to troops, we came close to Vittoria, in the kingdom of Navarre.

From an early hour in the morning of the 21st of June till the commencement of the battle, I witnessed closely every movement. A grand and all-interesting sight it was, and I continued a close spectator till we galloped into Vittoria in the evening of that ever-memorable day, in company with my friend the judge advocate-general, Mr. Larpent *, with whom I had a complete view of the whole action.

* "I got, with Dr. M'Grigor and a few others, on a hill about a mile from the French, which commanded nearly the whole scene." — See the *Journal* of the Judge Advocate-General, vol. i. p. 242.

We continued our victorious pursuit of the enemy till we drove them beyond the Pyrenees, and into what they called the sacred territory of France.

Head quarters were established at St. Jean de Luz, about the middle of November, in very stormy weather.

The fall of Bordeaux was followed by an advance upon Toulouse, and the final sanguinary battle which there ensued.

Until communication could be made across the river Garonne, head quarters were stationed at Grenade, where I was billeted in a large house in which the family was very numerous, I believe not less than thirty persons, including grandfather and grandmother, the son, who was the landlord, his wife, several of their brothers and sisters, and a very numerous family of the rising generation. At this house I became acquainted with the physician of the family, a sensible, well-informed man; and from him I learned an extraordinary fact. Speaking of the vin du pays, which to me appeared delicious, he said it had its bad effects; for though the population of Grenade did not exceed 3000 souls, yet there were on an average 100 of all classes always laid up with gout. I had formerly believed that this disease was more prevalent in England than in any other country; but I subsequently acquired a knowledge of facts in other parts of France, which established to my satisfaction that gout is perhaps a more prevalent disease in France than in England.

At length a bridge was thrown over the Garonne; head quarters were established, and I joined Lord Wellington on the 9th of April. The following day, Easter Sunday, the battle of Toulouse was fought. My brother-in-law, Lieutenant-Colonel Colquhoun Grant, being engaged, I felt deeply interested, and from nearly the commencement in the morning till the close of it in the afternoon I was a close spectator. So close indeed was I, that it might almost be said I bore a part in it, as might in some measure be said upon other occasions: 1st, in Grenada in the West Indies in 1796; 2ndly, at the storming of Badajoz; 3rdly, at the twice attempted storming of Burgos; 4thly, at the storming of St. Sebastian; 5thly, at the battle of Vittoria; 6thly, at the battle of the Pyrenees; and 7thly, on the memorable day when we fully entered France after storming the whole chain of redoubts that came in our way to St. Jean de Luz, and when, more than on any other occasion the whole allied army, British, Portuguese, and Spanish, was engaged in opposition to the French army commanded by Marshal Soult.

In the proper execution of their duties, medical officers are frequently under fire, and during the late war the cases of wounded medical officers were numerous. Some had been killed, and not a few lost limbs in sieges or in battles. Yet it has been ignorantly advanced by some military men that the medical officers have no business in exposed situations, and in

this professed opinion they would deny the medical officer a pension for the loss of a limb. Yet it is well known that the cases are numerous wherein the lives of officers and soldiers have been saved by the zealous medical officers of their regiments being at hand to suppress hæmorrhage. In alleviating pain, it is no small advantage to have the surgeon at hand to extract immediately all extraneous substances, such as balls, cloth, splinters, &c. Circumstances may subsequently prevent this being done till a long period afterwards, when the state of inflammation has been considerably advanced, and when their extraction must necessarily be attended with infinitely more pain; whereas, by promptness, life or a limb might have been saved, especially the former, as at an early period amputation would have been successful.

Early in the morning, after the surrender of Toulouse, I waited on the Duke of Wellington to receive his orders as to the disposal of our numerous wounded; when I called, he had been but a very few hours in bed, and I had to wait till he rose. On seeing him, and reporting the average number of our wounded from the calculation I was then enabled to form, he said, "It was desirable that I should immediately go into Toulouse to see the magistrates there, and as speedily as possible make the best provision I could for the wounded of the allied army." On arriving at our advanced posts, I found some diffi-

culty in proceeding, as the officer in command had no orders to let any one pass, and had received no official communication that a capitulation had been signed. He informed me that two officers with some soldiers who had gone in had been kept prisoners. However, armed with Lord Wellington's orders, I pushed on. After passing the French sentinels I found considerable difficulty in passing the mounds and barricades opposite the gate. Once in, attended by my Portuguese orderly dragoon, I was greeted by the shouts of an immense multitude in the first and contiguous streets, with their welcomes and "Vivent les Anglais!" from every window, crowded more especially with females. I passed in this triumphant manner through several streets; but the loud shouts of the populace rendered my horse and that of the Portuguese orderly dragoon who attended me very uneasy. At length we reached a noble square, with a superb building in front of us, the Capitol. Here the shouts on our appearance were tremendous, for there were several thousands assembled who rent the air with their acclamations. Passage was with difficulty made for us through this immense mass by the civic officers who laid about them somewhat roughly. Arrived at the capitol, I dismounted, when I caught sight of a red coat, and beheld an English officer standing before me, laughing excessively; I discovered it to be Sir Lowry Cole. After recognition, he told me I was a very great man; and informed me that I had

been mistaken for the Duke of Wellington, and owed all the acclamations and my triumphant entry into Toulouse to that mistake of the people, to whom it had been announced from the gates. We laughed heartily at it, and I enjoyed the joke as much as Sir Lowry, who accompanied me to the mayor, sitting in council with the magistrates. Coming out from them I met with Dr. Thomas, a resident English physician, who recommended me to disregard what the magistrates had told me, for that there was abundant accommodation for all our numerous wounded, and that, being well acquainted with Toulouse, he would show me all the accommodation. For all this I immediately applied, and subsequently gave a list thereof to Lord Wellington, who ordered that the buildings should be instantly delivered over to me.

From the very great number of wounded at the battle of Toulouse, the labours of the medical officers were exceedingly great, not only on the day of action, but for some weeks afterwards, for the duty devolved on them not only of dressing the wounds and attending to the British, but also of performing similar offices for our allies, the Portuguese and Spaniards, a greater number of whom came under our care than on any former occasion. Knowing the inadequacy of their own surgeons, their gratitude was expressed in warm terms to the English surgeons, who sedulously attended them, and the wounded French prisoners appeared to be equally grate-

ful. Their gratitude had been conspicuous on a former occasion, when, during the absence of Lord Wellington to superintend the siege of St. Sebastian, the French made a sortie and captured part of the head quarters, carrying off Sir John Waters and Mr. Larpent, the judge-advocate-general.

In our rearward movement we had been obliged to leave some sick and wounded, at a place which it was ascertained the enemy would occupy. I left a staff surgeon, Dr. Murray, in charge of the men, with money, to procure what might be necessary for them; and desired him to recommend the sick and wounded officers and men in his charge, to the good offices of the superior French officer who might occupy the village we were about to leave. As Dr. Murray informed me at a subsequent period, he discovered the approach of the enemy about two hours after I had left him, and to his astonishment saw about twenty of our men suddenly appear, who had hitherto concealed themselves in the village after the departure of Lord Wellington and the head quarters. From the manner of the men as they conversed together, and from the marked caûtion evinced in the order of their approach, Murray suspected they were preparing to go over to the enemy. He then spoke to them in an authoritative tone, and demanded what they were about, reviling them as rascals if they intended to go over to the enemy. They eyed him with sullen looks, when a serjeant from

among them came up to him and cautioned him immediately to leave them alone, otherwise he would have a bullet through his head. In a minute afterwards, he saw those men run towards the approaching enemy.

As the French cautiously advanced, Murray met them with his handkerchief on his sword, and requested to see the officer in command, to solicit his protection for the men left under his charge. This was readily granted, and for the few days they were in the village he received every courtesy from the officers. Once or twice the French soldiers entered the house where our wounded officers were, and on Murray's mentioning this to the general, Count D'Erlon, I believe, he immediately ordered sentries to be placed over the house for their protection.

On first seeing Dr. Murray, the count eagerly asked after his friend General Hill, hoping that he had not been hurt in the late affair, and that he was in good health, adding that General Hill was a good man. The enemy did not retain possession of this village long. Their force, which followed our army in a few days, was beaten back, their rear attacked by our advance close to the village, and they had a considerable number of wounded. Their surgeons were stationed outside the village, at a spot where the wounded were brought to them. Dr. Murray then very properly offered his assistance, and placing

himself among the French surgeons, dressed many of the wounds, and performed a good many operations throughout the day. Not a few of the French officers presented themselves to Murray, who was preferred by several of them to their own surgeons. This statement does not rest on the sole narration of Mr. Murray; for a few days afterwards Count D'Erlon wrote to Lord Hill detailing the circumstances, and requesting that the great merits, skill, and professional ability of Dr. Murray might be brought to the notice of the Marquis of Wellington, whose thanks I at the time conveyed to Dr. Murray; and at a subsequent period, I had the pleasure of promoting him in the service.*

But to return to the battle of Toulouse and its results. As I have said, the number of wounded of the British army, of our allies the Portuguese and Spaniards, and of our prisoners, was great. It exceeded 5000; but after some days of toil, aided by Dr. Thomas, the English resident already adverted to, who knew all the localities of Toulouse, I succeeded in getting them all housed, making use of the hospitals belonging to the city, besides occupying the convents,

* "The French under D'Erlon behaved very well to Colonel Fenwick who was left wounded; no one was allowed to go to his house as a quarter, and every attention was paid both to him and the surgeon left with him. The latter became so popular that the French liked to be dressed by him better than by their own surgeons."—*Larpent's Journal*, ii. 34.

nunneries, and churches, with several houses, and an encampment outside the walls.

But several days passed before I was enabled, with the exertions of the experienced officers under me, to ascertain exactly the number of the wounded and to classify them according to the nature of their wounds, stating those which were dangerous and unlikely to recover. I placed the whole in two great divisions of the city, one under the superintendence of Mr. Guthrie, and the other under the superintendence of Dr. Murray, being two of the ablest and most experienced of our operating surgeons.

After none of the previous battles were more operations performed than after that of Toulouse, and on no former occasion was more skilful surgery displayed. Great experience and reflection had at this time created among us a body of operators such as never were excelled, if ever before equalled, in the British army.

Although the navy has produced many eminent medical men, and I will not say of less eminence than the army,—Lind, Blane, and many others, to wit,—yet the opportunities for correct and cool observation are not so favourable in the navy as in the army. In the practice of a physician in the navy, the opportunities for obtaining a correct knowledge of the diseases peculiar to our colonies and to warm climates are by no means so favourable as those enjoyed by

medical officers of the army. Fleets or single ships touch only at the seaports of our foreign possessions, and their stay is seldom lengthened; whereas the military medical officer, by being stationed from time to time in every part of the interior of some island or of the peninsula of India for a long series of years, is led by his observation of facts to very different conclusions in regard to the prevailing diseases, from what he would have formed during a few weeks' residence only at a seaport, where the prevailing causes of disease did not fully exert their influence.

CHAP. XIX.

Visit to Montpellier.

VERY soon after our taking possession of Toulouse, the report of the downfall of Napoleon, and of the allied army having marched into Paris became current. About the same time we received the disastrous account from Bayonne, and of the capture of Sir John Hope. In a couple of days afterwards Colonel Cook arrived from Paris with the intelligence that the French capital was in the possession of the allies. I was at dinner at the duke's table when Colonel Cook arrived; he also sat down to dinner; and, as might be readily believed, all were desirous to listen to his account.

Previous to the receipt of this news, the entry of the British troops into Toulouse had been enthusiastically welcomed by the inhabitants; but their enthusiasm increased after this, and in the theatre, and throughout the streets, "Henri Quatre" was constantly played. I happened at this time to dine with the duke; he had intended to go to the theatre in the evening; and it so happened, that I was the only one of his staff who was in the way to accompany him. I shall never forget

the outburst of enthusiasm with which he was received when they discovered him in the stage box. The whole audience stood up, while the orchestra gave us our national air of "God save the King." After this, the audience still standing, called for "Henri Quatre," which was sung by the whole of the performers, and joined in by the whole house: the duke repeatedly expressing to me his satisfaction with the feeling exhibited by the people.

Sir George Murray, our quarter-master-general, after the Duke of Wellington, perhaps, the ablest officer in our army, met Marshals Soult and Suchet about this time, to arrange the terms of an armistice: and in a day or two afterwards, the two French marshals dined with the duke. I dined with him on the same day. As soon as peace appeared likely to take place, being desirous to see the French hospitals, their arrangement, and economy, before the armies were broken up, it now occurred to me that an introduction to the French marshals would greatly facilitate my object. I therefore took an opportunity in the course of the evening, to mention it to the duke, who entirely approved of it, and immediately presented me to Soult and to Suchet, who in warm terms offered me every facility to inspect them, and begged the honour to have me for their guest, when I visited the head quarters of the French army at Carcassonne.

In no long time afterwards, with a passport from Lord

Wellington, I put my plan in execution. Having provided a carriage, and all things necessary for the journey, acccompanied by Don Thomas Arrajo, the Spanish physician attached to my office, dressed in the English uniform of physician to the forces, I set out from Toulouse. Don Thomas was a liberal Spaniard; he had been expelled from his chair of chemistry in the university of Valladolid, on account of his opinions, but he bore a deadly hatred to the French, as the oppressors of his country. He was a man of extensive information, spoke French and English fluently, and had a thorough knowledge of the principal writers in both languages. He was so intimately acquainted with Hume and Gibbon, Milton, Pope, and Shakespeare, as to quote them frequently. Before setting out, it was agreed that, in our conversation together in company, he should speak to me in English, for had he been discovered to be a Spaniard, and in an English uniform in our service, the least we could expect would have been that he should be insulted.

We set out on our journey from Toulouse on a fine morning, and after travelling a few leagues came to our outposts, where, at the time, a Portuguese brigade was stationed. By this time, the Portuguese had been rendered excellent soldiers, and might be relied upon with nearly the same confidence as the British soldier. In one respect they were his superiors, they were never seen drunk; their orderly and submissive conduct to

officers was constantly remarked; and they were always most respectful to British officers, whenever they met them. As I passed the advanced sentry, he very respectfully asked for my passport, which he gave to a serjeant, who delivered it to his officer, when the latter, advancing politely, requested me to proceed. In this little interval, while eyeing the Portuguese soldiers around us, when I reflected that we were about to be separated from them, they to return to their own country, and I to mine, it induced a somewhat melancholy reflection, and I was really sorry at the thoughts of parting with those good men, who had so long shared our fortunes, whether prosperous or the reverse, without a murmur. On advancing to the French outposts, they received us with courtesy; examined our passports, and allowed us to proceed. We then continued our journey to Carcassonne, the head quarters of the French army, which we reached in the evening. We found the town excessively crowded with French troops, and on inquiry found that both Marshals Soult and Suchet were absent from Carcassonne. Don Thomas had therefore recourse to the principal hotel, or rather auberge, which was crowded with French officers and soldiers. The host, however, proposed to accommodate us; and he showed us a large room in the upper part of the house; the low roof of which nearly touched our heads. In this room, or loft, there were three rows of coarse bedsteads, without curtains, in number about one hundred, and we

fixed on two of the bedsteads for our accommodation for the night. Our host informed us that supper would be ready in about an hour, and at that time we entered the supper room. We found a long table occupied on both sides by about a hundred officers. Upon our entrance into the room, all gazed at our English uniforms, and, after we had taken our seats, we not only excited the attention of the whole table, but appeared to form the principal subject of their conversation. We had nearly gone through the business of supper, when two young officers seated immediately opposite to me addressed some questions to me regarding the late battle of Toulouse. The appearance of my querists was by no means prepossessing, their manner was far from courteous, and they were very unceremonious in putting their questions to me. They both became warm and impetuous in their interrogatories to me, and their demeanour put me upon my guard, so that I whispered to Don Thomas not to enter into the discussion. One of them asked me the number of our killed and wounded. As respected the latter, I gave a direct reply. Both shook their heads with strong dissent; one of them saying that he had certain information of our number of wounded, as well as of our killed, being at the least double the number we stated. I then announced myself as inspector-general of the medical department of the army, and told them I was responsible for the correctness of the number returned as wounded; that

my general return was constructed from my own personal knowledge, and from the returns rendered to me by the principal medical officer of each division of the army, who framed their returns from the return of the surgeon of each regiment, and that, therefore, there could be no error in the return of the wounded. The two officers replied with vehemence, that it was an untrue or incorrect account. On this two officers of more advanced age, and more gentlemanly appearance, rose up, and severely reprehended their conduct towards two strangers and English officers. Words repeatedly passed between them, and they were uttered with vehemence and violent gesticulations. At length both laid their hands on the hilts of their swords, and I looked momentarily for nothing less than a personal conflict between the now contending parties. While both were vociferating loudly, and with the most hostile gestures, a door behind, which I had not before seen, suddenly opened, and forthwith entered a French general officer, with his sword drawn, who fiercely demanded the cause of the broil and tumult. Both parties spoke simultaneously. He instantly commanded the silence of the two junior officers, and ordered the oldest of the officers to state what had happened. He, pointing to Don Thomas and to me, explained, that two British officers who supped there had been grossly insulted by the other two officers, and that, to the disgrace of the French army, the rights of hospitality had

been greatly violated. On this the general called up an adjutant who sat towards the bottom of the table, and upon the two violent gentlemen attempting to explain, he stamped his foot, commanding them to be silent, and to deliver up their swords to the adjutant. Bowing then to Don Thomas and to me, the general left the room. After what had passed, I thought it prudent, with my friend, to do the same; and, obtaining a light, proceeded to our huge dormitory. Here, occurred another curious scene. Upon entering the elevated dormitory by several flights of stairs, we found that several of the beds in the three rows, which went longitudinally through the room, were occupied. Our beds, next to each other, were pointed out to us in the centre row, but, to our surprise, we found two females had commenced undressing on two of the beds near to ours; one of them a young woman, and the other considerably older, perhaps her mother or an aunt. The oddity of this tickled the fancy of my grave Spanish friend, as well as mine, and I believe we laughed or smiled to each other; upon which, the two ladies, both of them of very respectable appearance, commenced to redress themselves, and left the room. At an early hour the next morning we left Carcassonne, and in the evening arrived at Narbonne, where I found a letter had been left for me by my friend Colonel David Stuart of Garth, who, as the first English officer, had preceded us on the route, and had promised to leave a

letter for me, with all the information which he could gain respecting our route. The letter was written from Montpellier, and sent to the Mayor of Narbonne, who on our arrival, called upon us. To my astonishment the mayor of Narbonne accosted me in the Scottish dialect; and I found that he was my countryman. He had been many years in that city, had a large family by a lady of Narbonne, and had at length arrived at the high civic honour he then held. He was most courteous, but I had determined not to tarry there, and to set off in the morning for Montpellier. In the street at Narbonne I met three of the French medical officers who had been our prisoners, and to whom I had given employment in our army; they greeted me most cordially.

On our way to Montpellier, I attempted to read and re-read the letter of my friend Colonel Stuart, whose handwriting was most extraordinary. At length, with the aid of Don Thomas, I got through the whole, except the name of an hotel which he desired me particularly to avoid. We exerted our utmost ingenuity to decipher this to us important word, but were obliged to give it up. After passing Cette, where there was a depôt of Spaniards who had followed the fortunes of King Joseph, whom my friend Don Thomas execrated, we returned again and again to the letter, to discover the name of the obnoxious hotel, but all in vain. At length, having gained the suburbs of Montpellier, we asked

the names of the three principal hotels. On ascertaining which was said to be the best of the three, we drew up to it; and, on inquiring its name, were answered that it was the Hotel du Nord. It immediately occurred to me that this must be the hotel which Colonel Stuart had desired us to avoid. On looking at the colonel's letter, we at once discovered that it was so. By this time most of our luggage had been taken out, and the waiters stood beckoning us to proceed. Though the exterior of the hotel was very promising, I at first declined, but after a minute's consideration entered, and on being shown into an apartment, I desired the landlord should be sent for. A fat paunchy man entered, bowing. I informed him that in coming to his hotel we had committed a mistake; asked him if it was the Hotel du Nord, and, taking out my letter, demanded if he had not had an English colonel who wore spectacles with him, a few days ago. He answered in the affirmative. Looking at the letter, I then said that, on account of exorbitant charges imposed upon him, and the insolent treatment he had met with, he had written to the British army, where many officers were about to set out for Montpellier, to shun the Hotel du Nord on that account. The astonishment of my host was extreme; his countenance exhibited an extraordinary and ludicrous cast. He assured me that the colonel's account was untrue; entreated me to make a trial of his house, and reiterated again and again "Mon

Dieu! Mon Dieu!" I resumed, saying, that more than 100 officers were about to proceed to Montpellier, many of them of the Gardes du Corps, very rich, and sons of noblemen; but that on account of his treatment of Colonel Stuart, a notice had been posted up at Toulouse, warning all to avoid the "Hotel du Nord." He added another "Mon Dieu," earnestly assured me that the colonel had done him injustice, and again eagerly repeated his entreaties that I would make trial of his house, if only for one day. I consented; and Don Thomas and I never had more reasonable charges, nor better treatment in our lives. The attention paid to us was extreme; and when by ourselves, we enjoyed our ruse very much. I acceded to the entreaties of my host to write to Toulouse, and honestly wrote to a friend at head quarters, describing the delightful situation of Montpellier, and announcing the "Hotel du Nord" to be a most comfortable inn.

There were several regiments both of cavalry and infantry at Montpellier, but we had little encouragement to inspect their hospitals. Indeed, the officers never met us without frowns and contemptuous looks at our British uniforms. This was evinced also at the theatre, on the day after our arrival. Upon our entering, a considerable part of the audience greeted us with shouts of "Vivent les Anglais," which was I believe, a shout of the bourgeois, in contempt of their own military. In the box opposite to us were three

French generals, who sent some gendarmes to clear the house of those who raised the cry. There was a great commotion, and after the performance of the evening had been stopped for a considerable time, Don Thomas and I, considering ourselves the cause of the disturbance, left the theatre.

Finding it hopeless to obtain access to the military hospitals, we visited the civil hospitals; and met several of the professors of the university going to their classes, to deliver their lectures. Most of the medical professors visited us, and showed us the utmost attention and kindness. As we could not gain the information we desired, we proceeded to Nismes, and visited the valuable remains of antiquities there. Thence we went to Pont du Gard, and, passing the river Rhone, proceeded to Avignon, once the papal residence. We went from thence to Vaucluse, where we admired everything around us, and then made the best of our way back to Toulouse.*

I regretted to have to return with the object of my journey unaccomplished. From much conversation with the French medical officers employed by me in our service; from communication with the professors at Montpellier, together with the condition of the sick and wounded French, and some of their hospitals which fell into our

* "The Society of Medicine at Montpellier, made the doctor a member with such fine speeches, that, even though he only half understood them, they raised his blushes." — *Larpent's Journal*, vol. iii. p. 227.

hands; I can have no doubt of the hospitals which I proposed to visit having been in the inferior state that was generally represented; and consequently I believe that they had no desire to have them inspected by me. I think I have seen every edition of the regulations for conducting the French hospitals from the commencement of the revolution to the present time; and I am free to confess, that I see very little to copy from them, as an improvement on our own. But one part would certainly be an improvement; I mean the ambulances for the transport of their wounded and sick, particularly of the former. I once proposed our adoption of it in Spain to Lord Wellington; but he would not hear of it; nor would he give the credit of humanity to Napoleon, as the motive for his introduction of it into his army.

CHAP. XX.

Return through France to England.

On my return to the army at head quarters at Toulouse, I was surprised by a communication the most flattering to me, and which I look upon as the most gratifying incident of my life. It was to the purport that the medical officers had entered into a subscription for a service of plate, which had been ordered, and of which they requested my acceptance. Nothing could go more directly to my heart than the terms in which this was expressed, in a letter from the medical officers of the Peninsular army. This handsome gift of the value of nearly 1000 guineas, was subsequently presented to me in London. What greatly enhanced the value of this gift was, that it was voted and presented at a time when the donors of it ceased to be under my control, when they could expect neither further approbation nor advantage from serving under me; in fact, when the tie was broken between us, and when we were about to be widely separated.

The army now moved to Bordeaux; part of it was destined for further service in America, and was

embarked there; the remainder of the infantry sailed for England, and the cavalry marched through France to Calais on their way homeward.

In company with my friend the late Dr. Thomas Thompson, I proceeded to Paris, where I saw Baron Larrey, with whom I had commenced an acquaintance in Egypt, at the time when the French army surrendered.

I was very desirous to see the great military hospital in Paris, which was under the directorship of my friend Baron Larrey, with whom, after breakfasting together, I visited it. He showed me several remarkable cases in which he had operated successfully, and they certainly displayed the best efforts of surgical science. The hospital was in good order, and the patients appeared comfortable and well cared for.

I also visited Baron Desgenettes, who had served in Egypt; and among the professional gentlemen to whom I was introduced at Paris by my friends Barons Desgenettes and Larrey, was Baron Percy, likewise a medical officer of the army. The appearance and manner of this gentleman were more pleasing than those of his confrères, and in giving information he had a singular appearance of openness and candour.

About this time, my wife, to whom I had intimated my return on the conclusion of the peace, wrote to me, that she would immediately set off from Scotland in order to be in London by the time of my arrival there. I had previously arranged with Sir

Charles Stuart, the ambassador (now Lord Stuart de Rothsay), that he would accompany me to the Duke d'Angoulême, who, when at St. Jean de Luz, desired to see me on my coming to Paris, that he might present me to the king; and Lord Stuart had urged me to go to the king's levee, remarking that he could present me in the event of the Duke d'Angoulême not being in Paris. However, on the receipt of my wife's letter, I determined immediately to leave Paris, and on the following day left by the diligence for Calais. On arriving there, I found my old friend Lord Blayney about to sail for England, and after breakfasting with him and his daughter, I accompanied them on board. After clearing at the Custom House, I immediately proceeded to London, where I had the happiness to find my wife and son had arrived in good health.

I was kindly received by the three members of the medical board, Mr. Weir, Sir Charles Kerr, and Sir William Franklin.

I had a most gracious reception from the Duke of York, and most friendly receptions from Sir Willoughby Gordon, the quarter-master-general; Sir Harry Calvert, the adjutant-general; and from my old friend Sir Henry Torrens, the military secretary.

Upon waiting on the Duke of Wellington, who received me most cordially, he informed me that I must continue my duty as usual of being with him

every morning; for he was constantly receiving papers respecting the hospital establishments, which he must refer to me in order to furnish replies. I accordingly continued that duty, as on the late service in the Peninsula. One morning, after the usual business, he said, "Mac, we are now winding up all arrears with the government; I have asked them how you are to be disposed of, and I am told you are to be placed on half pay; but I consider your peculiar services will entitle you to a specific retirement. Before I enter on this subject with Lord Castlereagh, I wish to know your own sentiments." I replied, that the last and only case I knew was that of Dr. Young, who had been inspector-general with Sir Ralph Abercrombie, and who got 3*l.* per day as a retiring allowance. He suddenly replied, "To that they can have no possible objection; the demand is moderate."

On my next seeing him, I believe on the following morning, he said, "Well, they have at once agreed to your retiring with 3*l.* per day, and they propose conferring the honour of knighthood on you." After a little pause, I said, "On a service of such magnitude and importance as that in which I have been employed, and after having been repeatedly honoured with your grace's approbation, expressed in your public despatches, I did hope that if they conferred any honour upon me, it would be the permanent one of the baronetage." He immediately replied, "You are the best judge of

what you will take; but I would recommend your taking the knighthood in the mean time." I replied, "I had no hesitation in following any course his grace might be pleased to recommend."

In a day or two afterwards, I had a kind note from him, informing me he would meet me at the levee the following day, and present me to the prince regent, who would confer the honour of knighthood on me. In the afternoon I received another note from his grace, stating, that being obliged to meet Lord Castlereagh in the country, he could not be at the levee; but that he had desired Lord Bathurst, whom I should find there, to present me. I confess I felt a little disappointed; for I would have preferred to have been presented by the duke rather than by Lord Bathurst, whom I did not know. However, to the levee I went, and I was in the first apartment after the entrance room, when I saw Lord Bathurst; but in so earnest conversation with some gentlemen that I could not intrude upon him. Presently, some one entered who appeared to attract the notice of all. It was the duke, who instantly made up to Lord Bathurst, and I could hear him say, "Have you seen my friend McGrigor, whom you are to present?" Lord Bathurst had barely time to reply "No," when the duke, turning sharply round, got hold of me, and said to Lord Bathurst, "Here he is, take care of him." He then speedily vanished out of the room. He was in a

travelling dress, got into a post chaise, and, as I afterwards learned, was going on business to Lord Castlereagh, at his place near Foots Cray, where he subsequently died.

There was in this act of the Duke, a benevolence of character of which I have observed many other instances, and which those only who had been much near him could know. The duke knew that I had much natural shyness. He knew the disappointment I would feel in not having his support at the presentation, which he could not give, being summoned to meet Lord Castlereagh on business. He therefore called on his way at Carlton House, determined to put me under the wing of Lord Bathurst. Subsequently he said, "I thought it as well to place you under Lord Bathurst; you are a shy fellow, and might not have found him out."

I kept close to Lord Bathurst, who advanced with me slowly with the crowd at the levee, but he was constantly in conversation with some one or other. Arrived in the presence, he spoke to the regent, and I then heard him announce my name in presenting me. The prince added, "I know Dr. McGrigor very well," and then added something complimentary, in his unequalled, most kind, and gracious manner. He then desired me to kneel, when he waved the sword over me, and I left the presence, complimented by many; some of whom I did not know.

I still continued my morning attendance on the

duke to transact any business that presented itself regarding my late department in the Peninsula. Many demands came from Spain as well as Portugal, for moneys which had been paid, as I found by reference to the purveyor of hospitals, who had an office in town till all the accounts were wound up. In many instances they were able to produce the receipts of the parties who were claimants. In justice to the late Mr. James, purveyor-general, I must say that never had the public a more honourable or faithful servant. Although I believe nearly half a million had passed through his hands, not a shilling of it stuck to them. So strictly honest was that gentleman, that, with a large family, he found much difficulty in living in London; and it required years of repeated application through the Duke of Wellington to obtain the addition of four shillings to the usual half-pay, which he could claim on retirement from the shortest service. This, as observed by many, was but slight encouragement for honour and strict integrity. Had he taken the usual advantage of his situation, which would not have been considered extraordinary, he might have retired in affluence, and his large family would have been well provided for. Under similar circumstances, another public officer suffered the same fate, Sir Robert Kennedy, the worthy and upright commissary-general in the Peninsular service.

The parsimony of the state, which pays badly the

civilians of the army, is most injurious. None of them are paid in a way commensurate with the important duties committed to them. The commissariat are the most liberally paid; yet looking to the immense sums which pass through their hands, I consider them underpaid. The small pay of the purveyors and their deputies, holds out a temptation to them to remunerate themselves out of what passes through their hands.

At this time, public dinners were given to the Duke of Wellington; to some of which, as one of his staff, I was invited, particularly to a very splendid one given in the city, at the Mansion House; and also to another given by the East India Company, and to others, by various public bodies.

CHAP. XXI.

Appointed Director-General.

Having settled the principal and most material part of the public business, connected with the Peninsula, and the numerous papers referred to me by the duke; Lady McGrigor and myself (accompanied by our son) prepared to visit our relations and friends in Scotland. I had the supreme happiness of renewing my acquaintance with many old and much regarded friends; and my dear wife enjoyed her meeting with her mother and family under happier and more cheerful circumstances than when she went to them after my departure for the Peninsula. Among the numerous kind friends, from whom we received much attention, none could surpass the Honourable General Sir Alexander Duff, my kind brother officer for years in the 88th Regiment, and Sir David Baird; both of whom had been my companions in crossing the desert from Bombay to Egypt. How different were our situations then, compared to what we were now enjoying in our native country. I had the pleasure of meeting another of my esteemed Bombay friends, Mr.

James Augustus Grant, who was secretary to the government of Bombay. But my Peninsula business not being quite finished, we were obliged to return to London in October. We often had the pleasure of looking back on that visit to Scotland as one of the happiest periods of our lives.

Having been always fond of the study of my profession, I determined to re-study two of my favourite branches — anatomy and chemistry. For this purpose I returned to my old master, Mr. Wilson, who lectured in the Hunterian School in Windmill Street; a gentleman whose pupil I had been upwards of twenty years before. Mr. Brande had at this time commenced lecturing on chemistry. I liked his manner, and immediately became his pupil also. I believe that neither Wilson nor Brande had in their classes a more assiduous pupil than myself.

I was not the only elderly disciple to be seen among the young students at these lectures. Several practitioners attended the anatomical lectures; and many gentlemen of various professions attended the chemical lectures, which Mr. Brande made very interesting. My old friend, Dr. Helenus Scott, of Bombay, who had returned from India with an ample fortune, after a residence there of twenty-five years, learning from me the interest of these lectures, joined me as a student, and became likewise the pupil of Messrs. Wilson and Bell, as also of Mr. Brande; and

his venerable figure was daily seen as the most attentive of students in both places.

I had business with the Duke of Wellington, the War Office, and the purveyor's department, in sanctioning charges and winding up accounts, which made it necessary for me to have an office, with one clerk, up to nearly the end of 1814, when I was placed upon half-pay, or rather, retired on an income given me for special services.

I now began to look about me, and to see what future prospects I had. Numbers of my friends, military, particularly, urged my entering on the practice of my profession as a physician in the metropolis. It then appeared I could do this with every prospect of success, known as I was to the whole body of the officers who had been in the Peninsula, and through them to their relatives in London, many of them of the aristocracy, or most opulent individuals; and having acquired a name from the late service I had been upon, I was assured that my success was not doubtful.

About this time the late Mr. Weir, then director-general of the army medical department, was taken very ill, and he soon afterwards resigned on account of his health. A body of my friends, mostly medical officers of the army, came forward and urged me to present myself as a candidate for the Board. But it appeared to me that I could claim a seat at the Board, only as

the younger of the three members; and that Sir Charles Kerr, or Sir William Franklin, would have a claim to be the first, and to succeed Mr. Weir as director-general. Soon after this I was sent for to the Horse Guards, and informed by the late Sir Henry Torrens, the military secretary, that, finding there was no prospect of the recovery of Mr. Weir, it was the intention of his royal highness the Duke of York to appoint me his successor. My ambition at once decided me to accede to this, although my friends were still apprehensive for my health. Further, I was strongly impressed with the irksome nature of the office I was about to undertake, and the impossibility of my answering the expectations of many who, as my friends, would look up to me to promote them in the service, though with the certainty of converting many of them into enemies and malcontents, particularly at the conclusion of a war, when very many reductions would be insisted upon by the higher authorities, in compliance with the outcry for retrenchment, which always occurs at the commencement of peace.

Dazzling as is the patronage of office, it is at the same time its most unsatisfactory and most annoying appendage, particularly when the candidates are in any degree literary; and I often found to my cost that the thin skin did not belong exclusively to poets and painters.

The feelings, therefore, with which I received this communication, were by no means those of unmixed joy. The candidates for the office conferred on me were numerous, and not confined to the medical officers of the army. The disappointments were therefore equally numerous. I heeded none of these, however, except those of the two old and most respectable officers, who then held seats at the board. Their disappointment at not succeeding to the first seat, and at being superseded by a much junior officer, was very natural; and I could readily enter into their feelings. I felt much awkwardness and reluctance to take my seat; delayed doing so for several days, and in the interval, made a call at the houses of Drs. Kerr and Franklin.

When I had taken my seat, those sentiments continued for some time; and if there existed feelings of my being unwelcome on the part of my colleagues, I readily admitted their being very natural. I believe I made the largest allowance for them; and endeavoured so to conduct myself, as to make myself as little unacceptable as possible. Dr. Franklin, as noble minded an individual as I ever met with, and who to the mildness of his nature added the manners of a perfect gentleman, immediately acted in concert with me, and met me cordially on every point of public business. We soon found that our general views of the service, and of the subjects which came before us, were the same; and we were almost always unanimous in opinion.

In a few months afterwards, Dr. Kerr sought retirement from the service, and obtained it. Dr. William Somerville was appointed in his stead, but he remained a few months only, government having decided on reducing the members of the board from three to two.

I had one inducement to enter the board, which had no small influence on my mind, though somewhat hesitating between the opinion of some of my friends, to embark in practice, and that of those who urged me to take office. This was my extreme desire, to accomplish fully the object which I had entertained for many years, viz. to turn the reports and returns rendered by the medical officers of the army to the account of science, and the improvement of the officers themselves; instead of devoting them as was the fashion of the day, to the fiscal concerns of the department, to the economy and the minute expenditure on account of the hospitals, in fact, to pounds, shillings, and pence, and that almost entirely. It was notorious in the army, and had even become cause for ridicule among military officers, that the subject matter of the correspondence of the board, as shown by the correspondence book of the regimental medical officers, turned wholly upon those details.

Previously to Mr. Knight's elevation to be a member of the army medical board, having Sir Lucas Pepys and Mr. Keate as colleagues, he had been the surgeon of one of the regiments of guards, and got

credit there for introducing a system of economy in the management of the expenses of the hospital, which in the guards were then defrayed in a great measure from the stock purse of the regiment. The system, as applicable to a regiment of the guards, or to the hospital of any regiment, was extremely good; it established a thorough check upon the expenditure; and when Mr. Knight established it as the system for the hospitals of all regiments in the service, it worked so well, that he was loudly and deservedly praised for it. But the system was carried by Mr. Knight and some of his deputies to a ridiculous extent; by carrying on a lengthened correspondence with the officers about grains of salt, and ounces of oatmeal and soap; the smallest possible expense of a poultice, with the lowest prices of eggs, butter, potatoes, and milk; the prices of the various qualities of these; and different petty grievances. The minute attention to this species of economy became, I have said, ridiculous in the deputies of Mr. Knight. But it was worse than trifling and ridiculous, for it engaged the time and diverted the attention of medical officers from the proper objects of their profession.

When I now retrospectively estimate in all fairness this state of things, as they existed at that time, I am fain to confess that I was myself carried away in the vortex of the then prevailing routine. Although I did not go to the extreme, as did some of my brethren

—the deputy inspectors of hospitals; I did enough, as I now think on looking back, which I consider absurd. But, like others, I was duly impelled to this by mandates from Mr. Knight's deputies at the board, who directed my attention to the enormous expenditure in salt, in the hospital of one regiment, of that in oatmeal in another, and in poultices in a third. In conclusion, suffice it to say, Mr. Knight's system, when introduced, was much required in the service; it effectually checked profusion and extravagance in the regimental hospitals, which, with plunder by the hospital servants, had existed to a great extent, previously to its introduction. When pruned as it now is of its extravagances, I look upon the system as perfect; and it would have been well for the service if, at the time it was introduced into the regimental hospitals, it had been likewise introduced into the general hospitals in as far as the established system and usages of the department admitted.

For a long time there had existed a difference of opinion respecting the value of general and of regimental hospitals. The members of the army medical board had themselves differed much on this subject; and the officers of the department, ranging themselves under one or other of the members of the board, advocated and adopted their opinion; so that in fact, the whole of the officers of the medical department of

the army enlisted themselves in time under the two opposite factions. Eventually, the difference became more than calm differences of opinion at the council board, on a point of public duty. It was whispered that animosities existed, and that whatever other matters came before the board, they were discussed with anything but temper. This conflict of opinion, and these divisions in the board, had dated from far back; and it is generally understood that an altercation with one of his colleagues was the immediate cause of the death of the celebrated John Hunter.

When Mr. Gunning joined Mr. Keate and Sir Lucas Pepys in the board, it was reported that anything but unanimity prevailed among them. Mr. Rush succeeded Mr. Gunning, and Mr. Knight succeeded Mr. Rush. Still discord prevailed, and the interests of the public were ill looked after. This could scarcely be otherwise, when the materials and constitution of the board are considered. None of these gentlemen, the great John Hunter, and Mr. Rush excepted, had any knowledge of the habits of soldiers, or of the diseases incidental to them; unless we admit those of them who had served as surgeons in a regiment of guards at home. Mr. Rush had served for a short time as surgeon of a regiment in America. Besides, each of these gentlemen exercised his profession extensively in the metropolis; and as this led to more emolument than

his situation in the public service, it is fair to admit, he paid most attention to his private practice. Indeed, it was known, that the prospect of introduction to extensive private practice was the object of some in soliciting a seat at the board.

During the official reign of Sir Lucas Pepys, Mr. Keate, and Mr. Knight, an occurrence brought this in glaring colours before the public at large, and laid the foundation of a total change in the constitution of the board. This was nothing less than the circumstance I have already once adverted to, viz. that after the fatal expedition to Walcheren took place, alarming accounts reached this country of the most frightful sickness and mortality in our army there. Upon this, government directed that one of the members of the board should be sent to Zealand, to examine the state of affairs, and report to them. But each of the three members excused himself; and in an examination at the bar of the House of Commons, the physician general, Sir Lucas Pepys excused himself there, on the plea of his advanced age; and particularly on that of his unacquaintance with the diseases of soldiers.* In fact, not one of the three members had served with an army, or had any practical knowledge of the arrangements. The public outcry was loud, and this state of things could no longer be tolerated. Accordingly the Duke of York

* See Appendix G.

ordered a board of general officers to assemble, to investigate and report. The result was; that a board should be formed of medical officers of long service in the army, of practical experience, and who had served much abroad in various climates. The first recommendation was, that this board should consist of five members; and I had the honour to be nominated one of the five: but after this project had been submitted to the ministry, they cut down the number to a board of three members. The three sufficiently advanced in life, and who had seen much service, were the late Mr. Weir, Dr. Kerr, and Dr. Theodore Gordon, senior; the two latter, active and able officers, particularly Dr. Gordon, a man highly respected throughout the whole army, and who, from his known talents, possessed the entire confidence, as well as the respect, of the whole body of medical officers. In the service this very judicious and able officer had suffered much in his eyes; he had lost one, and by the ardour with which he entered on his duties, the other eye became attacked with inflammation, which so much alarmed him, that he retired from the board. His successor was my own lamented friend, the late Sir William Franklin, and as the successor of Dr. Theodore Gordon, a better selection, or a man more fitted for the situation, could not have been found in the British army. I am enabled to speak of him thus, from a very long knowledge of

him. For nearly twenty years we sat as colleagues at the same table, where matters of public business came daily before us for discussion. There might occasionally be a little difference of opinion, but that did not last for five minutes; and on no occasion did any unpleasant feeling exist for a second.

SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTER.

The preceding Autobiography terminates thus abruptly, at the period of Sir James McGrigor's appointment as Member of the Army Medical Board in 1815; a few months after which the Board was remodelled, and he was placed at the head of it, as Director-General.

That Sir James did not carry on the narrative of his life after his elevation to office, arose doubtless from many causes, of which the following may in a great measure have contributed their influence.

His life had hitherto been passed with little intermission, in the midst of the varied and stirring events of active service in the field. It had been a career of arduous duty, zealously performed amid all the manifold dangers and vicissitudes incidental to service in distant climes, in which, in his medical capacity, his personal risks and anxieties, like those of all the members of his profession, were considerable.

His great merits and acknowledged abilities had won for him another field of action; one in which,

though the demands on his exertions were no less urgent, his labours no less uninterrupted, and his responsibility was quite as great as before; yet it presented no longer the same constant succession of interesting circumstances for record. It proffered him a calmer sphere of physical exertion. It was one, in which he could devote his mind with less interruption, to the elaboration of those plans for the amendment of the executive and working systems of the medical department of the British army, the serious need of which he had long been impressed with; and which his experience and judgment had enabled him to devise.

Moreover, in his capacity of Director-General of the department, most of the incidents and facts of his current official life were, in the strictest sense, official in all their relations. They were, so to say, the properties of his Office; and as such demanded a discreet reserve, an honourable secrecy. It was not, therefore, likely, that he would make them subjects of narrative; and it would have been unbecoming in him, to have indited with his own pen a relation of the various improvements he effected; the eminent services he rendered to the interests of science as connected with the Army Medical Department; and the numerous acts of beneficence which he performed throughout his long tenure of office, in the interests of all immediately connected with the medical service of the army.

The aptitude which he had evinced at an early period

of his professional career for medical statistics, and the high estimation in which he held that branch of study, as presenting the most reliable data on which to establish directive regulations for the better preservation of the health of troops, and the treatment of the diseases incidental to the different climates in which they were stationed, were prominently shown soon after his accession to the directorship. Concurrently with the discharge of his official duties, he proceeded to carry out his long cherished project of instituting a system of Medical Reports, and Returns, of a more statistical character than had hitherto been the custom, with the view to make them of permanent use to the service; and form therewith a collection of constantly available records, calculated to advance the interests of science and the general improvement of the medical officers of the army.

For this purpose he issued forms to the surgeons of all the regiments in Great Britain and Ireland, and to the heads of the medical staff at all the colonial stations, requiring their periodical transmission in the shape of half-yearly and annual reports to the Medical Board in London, detailing the health and condition of the troops, the diseases prevalent among them, and the modes of treatment pursued.

Whenever any of these reports contained matter of unusual interest, Sir James McGrigor transmitted queries to the officers who furnished them, in order

to elicit further information on the subject. In these periodical returns, among other points of interest, information was furnished respecting the average duration of the life of the soldier in different climates; the probable or ascertained exciting causes of each disease; its most effectual treatment; and the mortality in particular years of yellow fever, cholera, and epidemics generally. The effects of any new sanitary measure or treatment introduced for the purpose of preserving the health of the troops, or facilitating the recovery of the sick, were thus readily ascertained by comparison; and the extension of beneficial measures was promoted wherever the same results were to be anticipated.

Sir James McGrigor pursued this course with such persistent zeal during his long tenure of office, that when he resigned the Director-Generalship he left behind him a vast and important collection of records, bound in folio volumes, each duly lettered with the name of the colony or district to which it related, and indexed. To this, which in itself constituted a medical library of the greatest practical value, every facility of access for reference was granted to members of the profession, at the office of the Army Medical Board.

Dating from the year 1816 to 1850, this immense repertorium of authenticated medical facts comprised the following subjects: —

	Volumes.
Half yearly and annual returns of sick of the troops at home and abroad	303
Topography, with maps	7
Reports on cholera	5
Reports on syphilis	2
Histories of epidemics; being replies to queries issued in 1825	2
Replies to queries on mortality, diseases, &c. issued in 1837	3
Replies to queries on barracks, hospitals, clothing, &c. issued in 1838	4
Replies to queries on cases of small-pox which have occurred after vaccination	2
Reports on delirium tremens	3
Returns of phthisis pulmonalis from troops at home, 1840 to 1850	
Epidemic in Gibraltar in 1816 and 1828	1
Abstract of monthly and quarterly reports of sick, from 1816 to 1850	11
Abstract of quarterly returns of sick from foreign stations	3
Abstract of quarterly returns of sick from home stations	2
Nominal quarterly and annual returns of insane patients from 1827 to 1850	
Annual returns of recruits from 1826 to 1850	

The importance of these returns, as furnishing correct and instructive data for the preservation of the health of the soldier, was not long in being recognised; and the contents of these volumes were eventually published, with the aid of the War Office.

Their value, and that of medical statistics generally, has since been ably set forth in an article published in the "Statistical Journal" for the year 1856, entitled "On the Mortality arising from Military Opera-

tions;" in the course of which, the author says: "Sir James McGrigor, well known for many years as the Director-General of the Army Medical Board, was at the head of the medical department of the Peninsular army during the latter part of the war, at the conclusion of which he wrote a sketch of the medical history of those campaigns in which he had served. It contains many valuable suggestions as to the preservation of the health of troops on service, and some important statistical returns, which have been found useful in determining points that would otherwise have been left in doubt." The author subsequently states that "Sir James McGrigor recorded the causes of all the deaths which took place in the Peninsula while he was at the head of the medical department;" and makes numerous quotations from those records.*

The strong predilection evinced by Sir James McGrigor for the resort to detailed statistical forms for the surer elucidation of the science of diseases incidental to troops, and of their treatment, appears to have been imbibed from his study of the works of Sir John

* While alluding to this article in the "Statistical Journal," it is worthy of remark that the writer, in adverting therein to the condition of the British troops during the Crimean War, for want of proper clothing, and of medical, and other requisites, points to it as the result of a mismanagement similar to that which was evinced in the early part of the Peninsular War; when Admiral Berkeley, who commanded on the Lisbon station, wrote to Earl Temple on the 10th of September, 1809, saying that stores of things sent from England "were rotting and spoiling in the Tagus."

Pringle, an eminent military medical officer, physician to the military hospital in Flanders in 1742, and shortly afterwards appointed Physician-General to the British forces beyond seas.

Deeply impressed with the value of Sir John Pringle's "Observations on the Diseases of the Army in Camp and in Quarters," * so early in his professional life as the Egyptian campaign did Sir James McGrigor emulate his countryman's example, that he gave to the public his "Medical Sketches of the Expedition from India to Egypt."

His sense of the numerous defects in the system on which the Army Medical Board was constituted and governed, acquired the fullest confirmation from the result of the examinations of the medical authorities before the House of Commons, after the deplorable expedition to Walcheren; and justified him yet more in his opinion, not only of the necessity of an improved system of administration of the medical department of the army; but of the advantages which would be derived by the service, from the requisition of periodical statistical reports and returns of a detailed character, from the medical officers on every station at home and abroad.

In the Peninsular war, Sir James McGrigor had availed himself of the opportunity afforded by his position, to pursue the course marked out by the experience of Sir

* Published in 1752, and translated into several languages.

John Pringle upwards of half a century before; and with such good effect as to confirm him yet more in his estimate of the labours of that eminent medical officer. The estimate formed by Sir James McGrigor's professional brethren of the service rendered by him to the science of medicine, by the institution of the system of periodical statistical reports adverted to, is shown in a brief but able sketch by Mr. Pettigrew, who says: "He rendered the most effective service to his country, not only by appointing to the army gentlemen of high professional attainments; but, also, in making available the results of their experience to future generations; the science of medicine being in no manner more truly advanced than by the accurate histories of diseases, and the faithful details of the practice adopted by enlightened men."

In a letter from Field Marshal Lord Beresford in 1838, to Sir James McGrigor, the opinion of that eminent soldier on the value of these reports is expressed in the following words: —

"Bidgebury Park, Nov. 7th, 1838.

"My dear McGrigor,

"It is high time I should acknowledge yours of the 22nd ult., and thank you for the very valuable publications you have sent me on the comparative state of the healthiness to our profession of the several parts of the British Empire; which must be most valuable to the country, and most interesting indeed to all military people. Would such a com-

pilation had been made before our time, that we might have had the benefit of it. The subject reminds me indeed of your country's expression of 'Auld lang syne,' when you and I were often so anxious, and conversed over such subjects for the benefit of those under our care and protection. You have in this shown and continued the same uniform zeal, care, and interest in the cause of humanity, which then so honourably distinguished you. Nor do I know how you could more excellently have crowned your exertions in that cause, than by the part (or rather the whole) you have taken in this most useful and beneficial work.

"I shall be desirous of getting the remaining publications.

. . . . . .

"Believe me, my dear McGrigor,
"Yours sincerely,
"Beresford."

The first years of Sir James McGrigor's official life were marked no less by a devotion to the purposes of benevolence and science. In both these works he resumed and gave a wider indulgence to the kindly disposition of heart, and the desire to forward the scientific improvement of the medical officers of the army, which he had shown so early as 1810, when on duty at Portsmouth, as inspector of the South West District.

He took early measures for the formation at Fort Pitt, Chatham, of the Museum of Anatomy and Natural History, bearing upon Military Surgery. To his unremitting exertions and liberality, that Museum is chiefly indebted for its prosperous condition. So as-

siduously and successfully did he use his influence with the medical officers of the army, that they lost no opportunity of collecting and forwarding specimens to enrich it; the reception of which donations was always punctually acknowledged by Sir James.

This museum contains 6000 specimens of important preparations; and, upon the retirement of Sir James McGrigor, the collection comprised 5888 specimens in natural, morbid, and comparative anatomy, and comparative physiology; 19,262 specimens of the three different classes of the animal kingdom; 8,561 specimens of the vegetable kingdom; 6,891 specimens in mineralogy and geology; and 988 works of art.

The collection of human crania exceeded 500 specimens, and in this respect, it has been asserted by several eminent individuals who have visited every museum of importance in Europe, to be unrivalled.

About the year 1822, Sir James McGrigor attached a library to the museum he had founded; to which he made repeated gifts of books, and on one occasion bestowed upon it about 1,500 volumes. Many members of the medical department of the army became also liberal contributors to the library. Among these may be mentioned Mr. Bruce, Surgeon to the Military College; Dr. Fergusson, Inspector of Hospitals, and Mr. Wordsworth. The first, who was both an able surgeon and an accomplished scholar, bequeathed all his books to the library at Chatham; and the second, 275 volumes of

medical works; while Mr. Wordsworth specified in his will, that, the ecclesiastical and poetical works of his two relatives, the Rev. Christopher Wordsworth, and the poet laureate, should be presented to this library "in grateful remembrance of his obligations to that establishment."

This valuable adjunct to the Museum founded by Sir James McGrigor has not been wanting in other aid. According to the catalogue of March 1852, it contained nearly 10,000 volumes, and since that period it has received many important augmentations. In this library of the medical officers, is a portrait of Sir James painted by Sir David Wilkie. Another portrait, painted by J. Jackson, R.A., was presented by his brother officers to Lady McGrigor.

The fostering care extended by Sir James McGrigor, while Director-General, to the excellent institution he had founded in the cause of science, at so early a period of his career, was extended with no less solicitude to another foundation, in the cause of benevolence, which owed its origin to his exertions in 1816.

Deeply impressed with the frequent misery accruing upon the death of medical officers to their widows and families, for want of a provision against such a contingency, by the insurance of their lives at an early period of their entering the service, when the deductions for premiums would be less sensibly felt than at a later time of life; Sir James McGrigor used his in-

fluence among the officers of the department, for the establishment of the Army Medical Friendly Society. The young assistant-surgeon was enjoined by Sir James McGrigor to subscribe annually to this Society, an amount which could scarcely be felt as a loss of income, while it might act as an incentive to economy. Married officers paid a larger annual amount than the unmarried, and their widows became entitled to annuities, varying according to the rate of premium paid by their husbands during their life time.

Under good management, a large capital or principal has been thus accumulated, and safely invested under the Act of Parliament for the Friendly Societies of Great Britain; and such development had this institution acquired when its founder retired from office, that it was distributing incomes among 120 widows, and was possessed of a capital verging upon 80,000*l*.

Instances of distress, against which no rule of prudence can guard, were nevertheless numerous among the poorer families of deceased medical officers. To meet these, Sir James McGrigor then founded a second institution, called the Army Medical Benevolent Society. The object of this institution was the relief of the more necessitous families of medical officers, especially of orphans. Supported by donations from the more prosperous army medical officers, this humanely devised institution has fully effected the objects of its founder. Sums of money are annually distributed among the necessitous,

by a committee of gentlemen, with as much privacy and delicacy as possible. By this timely aid, the children of medical officers have been enabled to complete an education commenced in the more prosperous days of their parent's lifetime.

To this society Sir James McGrigor was a liberal contributor. On his retirement from office in 1850, the invested capital of this second benevolent institution of his founding, amounted to nearly 15,000*l.*, and the sum given annually to the poorer families of medical officers, chiefly to orphans, was about 500*l.*

So great were the benefits conferred by these two institutions—one an insurance, and the other a charity—that, in an interesting and gratifying address presented to the family of Sir James McGrigor after his death, they were characterised as monuments of his wisdom, charity, and benevolence.

During his tenure of office as Director-General, Sir James McGrigor received numerous honours. He was made a [redacted]-Commander of the Tower and Sword of Portugal, for his services in the Peninsular campaign; and was also permitted by his Sovereign to wear the Turkish Order of the Crescent, for the part he bore in the Egyptian campaign. In 1831, he was created a Baronet, and in August 1850, invested with the Order of a Knight-Commander of the Bath. Besides these and other marks of royal favour, upon the institution of the London University, he was appointed by Govern-

ment a member of its council. He was also a Fellow of the Royal Society of London, and a member of various societies of Dublin and Edinburgh, and of several societies on the continent. His attachment to Marischal College, Aberdeen, where, in 1788, he had graduated as A.M., was a sentiment which he never ceased to cherish. He had there taken his M.D. in 1804; and three times did his Alma Mater show the high esteem in which he was there held, by electing him to the Lord-Rectorship, in 1826, in 1827, and in 1841. So thoroughly had he won the esteem and attachment of the students, that they presented to the university a portrait of Sir James by Mr. Dyce, which is now in the public hall+; and to identify himself yet more with that ancient seat of learning, he further presented prizes to be competed for by the students.* In the year 1826, when he was first elected Lord-Rector of the university of Aberdeen, the Town Council of Edinburgh, claiming him also as one of the alumni of its University (from his having shared in its medical instruction), honoured him with the freedom of their city.

Sir James McGrigor was also one of the founders of the Medico-chirurgical Society of Aberdeen; of which his auxiliary support was so marked for many years, that upon his death, resolutions were passed at a public meeting of the members, expressive of their high sense

* An obelisk of polished granite, seventy-two feet high, stands in the Quadrangle of Marischal College as a memorial to Sir James McGrigor.

Refer to newspaper cutting pasted on p. 397.

+ now (1911) in the University Court Room

of his abilities, of his valuable services in the field, and during his long tenure of office; as also of his estimable private worth, and of their condolence with Lady McGrigor and his family on their sad bereavement.

Such were the honours he received from his sovereigns, his brother-officers, and his countrymen.

Throughout his tenure of office, the habits of life of Sir James McGrigor were characterised by that order and precision which bespeak the man whose mind is constantly directed to a diligent and effective discharge of his duties. Winter and summer, through a long succession of years, he rose at a very early hour, and, after taking a cup of coffee, transacted much business at his own residence for which the hours of office were insufficient. Upon repairing thither at ten o'clock in the morning, he almost invariably carried with him numerous letters, all ready for transmission; and, until five o'clock in the afternoon, his daily occupation there was unremitting.

He had brought to the exercise of his new office, attributes of character, abilities, and experience such as had not been concentrated in one and the same individual at the Army Medical Board since its first establishment; and the advantages accruing to the service from his able administration of the department, had long been attested by the improved sanitary condition of the troops throughout the Home stations, those of the Mediterranean, and the Colonies. In the

local measures adopted for the health of the garrisons, and the constantly maintained numerical sufficiency, as well as efficiency, of the medical staff at those stations where the contingencies of sickly seasons had never before been duly and systematically provided for, Sir James McGrigor evinced a judgment and forethought, the want of which, under former administrations, had entailed at sure and certain intervals an ever recurring increased mortality among the troops. The intimate knowledge which he had acquired of the respective qualifications of the medical officers of the service, enabled him to select judiciously for heads of the medical staff in each of the colonies, those best fitted by previous service and professional ability.

To cite one instance of the many that could be adduced of the advantages which accrued to the service and the cause of humanity from the judicious preference given by Sir James McGrigor to ability over every other consideration, in his appointment of chiefs of medical staff at stations visited periodically by epidemics, Gibraltar may be named. Though the regiments of the line in garrison in that fortress are generally more free from sickness than are the regiments of the Guards in London, yet Gibraltar is subject to the visitations of a fatal epidemic. The garrison being also usually large, the spread of disease at such seasons among the troops is very extensive.

During four sickly months which occurred a few

years before Sir James McGrigor's accession to office, the deaths from the epidemic among the troops alone amounted to 1082; though in the two preceding years they had not exceeded 91; the strength of the garrison being in both cases nearly the same.

Accordingly, Sir James McGrigor in 1828 transferred Dr. Hennan from the charge of the medical department in the Mediterranean to a similar post at Gibraltar. As Sir James knew, Dr. Hennan was deeply read in the works of Sir William Pym, Dr. Hook, Sir James Fellowes, Mr. Amiel, Dr. Playfair, and others who had been stationed at Gibraltar during the previous epidemics, either of 1804, 1810, 1813, or 1814. When quartered at Gibraltar, Dr. Hennan transmitted much valuable information in the form of reports to the Director-General's office; and so well did he apply his knowledge, that, when the fatal epidemic commenced its ravages, he rendered most efficient aid in checking them; but in his unceasing efforts to preserve the lives both of soldiers and civilians, he neglected his own safety. Even after he had been seized by the disease, that zealous medical officer still remained at his post of duty, and until the very day preceding his own untimely death, he persevered in his efforts to preserve the lives of others; affording another of the many instances of that self-immolation to duty, which has so often distinguished the medical officers of the army; and which in more recent days distinguished

Surgeon Thomson, of Crimean celebrity, to whose memory Sir James McGrigor erected an obelisk of granite in his native land.*

In 1848, after nearly thirty-three years' zealous discharge of the arduous labours of his office, Sir James McGrigor, yielding to that yearning for rest which with advancing years steals upon the most active mind,—and deeming it both more graceful and befitting his well-earned repute to retire from a laborious post before his energies became impaired,—expressed his wish for retirement to the Duke of Wellington, then Commander-in-Chief. The Duke made answer: "No, no, McGrigor; there is plenty of work in you yet." Thus overruled and encouraged by the Duke, Sir James McGrigor continued to discharge his duties of Director-General, though he occasionally reiterated his wish for retirement.

In the autumn of 1850, he, however, made an urgent application for permission to retire, which received the following gratifying reply:—

"Horse Guards, Sept. 23rd, 1850.

"My dear Sir James,

"I have availed myself of the earliest opportunity in my power to lay before the Duke of Wellington your letter

* In commemoration of the self-devotion of Dr. Hennan to arrest the epidemic of 1828 at Gibraltar, a monument was erected to his memory at the expense of Sir George Don, the Governor, and many of the inhabitants.

marked 'private' of the 16th instant, stating that you are under the necessity of soliciting permission to retire from the Office you have held for thirty-five years with such credit to yourself and such advantage to the public.

"His Grace deeply regrets that the state of your health should oblige you to pursue this course.

"He has had the pleasure of being well acquainted with you since the commencement of your career in the service. He is aware of and can vouch for the truth of the statements made in your letter, and indeed was present at the several stations in which your exertions were called forth, with the exception of the West Indies and Walcheren.

"Upon receiving your official application for retirement, the Duke of Wellington will feel it his duty to forward it to the Secretary at War, and will have great pleasure in bearing the fullest testimony to your merits and services.

"Believe me,

"Very faithfully yours,

(Signed) "FITZROY SOMERSET."

On the 4th of December, 1850, Sir James McGrigor received another letter from Lord Raglan, then Lord Fitzroy Somerset, transmitting letters from the Treasury and the War Office. The following paragraph occurs in Lord Raglan's letter:—

"The Duke of Wellington has directed me to draw your attention to the expression by the Lords of the Treasury of their high approbation of your long, able, and most meritorious services, and to the testimony which Mr. Fox Maule is desirous of bearing to your merits; and further, I am to convey to you His Grace's congratulations on receiving so unqualified

an acknowledgment from such high quarters, of your unceasing and successful application of your best energies to the discharge of your duty during a long course of years."

Besides receiving this additional testimony of the high esteem of the commander-in-chief at the close of the year 1850, the merits of Sir James McGrigor were thus noticed by the financial head of the army, in bringing forward the army estimates in the year 1851. "In the army medical department the service has lost by the retirement, not, I am happy to say, by the death, of Sir James McGrigor, an officer to whom the public is much indebted." These words, as reported in the journals of the day, were received in the House of Commons with cheers.

When Sir James McGrigor's retirement became known to the officers of his own department, they determined on evincing their regard for him by the presentation of a costly testimonial. On hearing of their intention, Sir James McGrigor lost no time in acquainting them that he could on no account accept any such offering after their former munificence. Thus prevented from carrying out their first intention, they next resolved to present him with a valedictory address. Although Sir James McGrigor's retirement was not complete till the spring of 1851, yet before the 31st of May, of the same year, the address was signed by upwards of 500 members of the department. On that

day, the 31st of May, a meeting of the medical officers was held at the Thatched House Tavern, St. James's street, where an able address, indicating many of the benefits which Sir James McGrigor had conferred on the department, was unanimously adopted. A deputation of officers then proceeded to the residence of Sir James McGrigor, where the address was read by Dr. Skey, inspector-general of hospitals, in presence of a large circle of friends. The good opinion of more than 500 honourable and well educated gentlemen, impartially expressed, after all connection between them and their chief had been dissolved, was indeed a testimony of honour very gratifying to the feelings of Sir James McGrigor, at such a moment; and as gratefully appreciated by the members of his family and personal friends.

Thus in 1851, began Sir James McGrigor's retirement. Entering the army as surgeon of the Connaught Rangers, in 1793, he quitted it as director-general in 1851. He had spent nearly fifty-seven years of his life in active employment. As night succeeds day, so rest must sooner or later succeed labour, and more than half a century of labour did certainly need repose. About seven years of life still remained to Sir James McGrigor, during which, though in the course of nature greatly enfeebled in bodily health, he enjoyed that peace of mind which was doubtless the result of a conscientious discharge of all his duties. The urbanity

of his manners, the benevolence of his disposition, and the simplicity of his heart, drew around him for the remaining years of his life, a circle of friends, in whose cheering kindness and attentive solicitude, as in the devoted affection of the members of his family, he found enjoyment. Thus the current of those later years was calm and tranquil. Few men had seen pain, disease, and death under more violent and hideous aspects than Sir James McGrigor; he had personally passed through many perils of shipwreck, siege, and battle; yet, by the blessing of good general health combined with a sound mind, of an equanimity seldom ruffled; under the beneficent will of a Higher Power, the long current of his life ran itself gradually out, becoming even more smooth towards its close. He died in London on the 2nd of April, 1858, about seven days before the completion of his eighty-eighth year; without pain, and almost without disease; for the gradual extinction of the powers of nature, can scarcely be called disease.

Thus closed the life of Sir James McGrigor; and little now remains to mention but a few of those instances of posthumous honour which proceeded from a sense of his public and private virtues. A few days after his death, committees of the two societies which he had founded for the benefit of the army medical officers, were held, in order to inscribe on their minutes expressions highly honourable to Sir James McGrigor's memory. Many tributes of respect were paid in other

quarters, but they need not here be enumerated, although to his own immediate relatives they can never cease to be valuable. Exception, however, must be made in favour of a letter from the Treasury, Whitehall, in September 1859, stating that, in the college which had recently been founded in honour of the memory of the Duke of Wellington, niches and places had been provided for the reception of the statues or busts of the principal officers, contemporary statesmen, and personal friends of the late Duke of Wellington, and that the name of Sir James McGrigor had been selected for this distinction.

The only other honour of a posthumous nature which may here be adverted to, is that of a subscription for a public monument, originated by Mr. Wyatt, one of the surgeons of the Guards, a gentleman quite unconnected with Scotland, and therefore wholly unbiassed by any national prejudices in favour of the country to which Sir James McGrigor belonged. The subscribers to the proposed monument, both among military men and civilians, were numerous. In January, 1861, application for a site was made to government, which readily promised to give a place in some "central part of London, where the statue intended to commemorate the distinguished services of Sir James McGrigor might occupy such a position as was desired by the subscribers." In April of the same year, it was decided by the Board of Works that the statue of Sir James McGrigor should

be erected on a piece of ground near to Westminster Abbey and the Houses of Parliament. This graceful acknowledgment of past services may be viewed as an useful encouragement hereafter to a zealous performance of duty. It may be viewed also as a just tribute to the memory of an officer who, during fifty-seven years of arduous service abroad and at home, gave all his thoughts and energies to his public duties; and whose highest ambition was to leave behind him a *good* and an honoured *name*.

Aberdeen Weekly Journal

Aberdeen, Wednesday, May 4, 1910.

The M'Grigor Obelisk in the Duthie Park.

The following additional inscription has just been cut on the obelisk to the memory of Sir James M'Grigor, Bt., K.C.B., M.D., who for thirty-six years held the office of Director-General of the Army Medical Department:—

"This obelisk, erected in 1860 in the quadrangle of Marischal College by the widow and near relatives of Sir James M'Grigor, was removed to its present site, with the full consent of his representatives, when the University buildings were extended in 1906."

~~9th April, 1910.~~

See footnote, page 387.

a picture of the obelisk in Vol. XIII Journal of the Royal Army Medical Corps August [illegible]

APPENDIX

APPENDIX.

A. p. 105.

The reason for this sudden counter-order is thus given in the life of Sir David Baird:—

"The arrival of this overland despatch changed the whole course of events, and while General Baird was anxiously expecting some alteration merely in his final instructions for the reduction of Batavia, he received the following letter from Colonel Kirkpatrick:—

"[Secret.]

"'Calcutta, February 10, 1801, 3 P.M.

"'My dear General,—Lord Wellesley desires me to inform you that your new instructions are nearly ready. I am in hopes that they will be despatched either to night or early to-morrow. The overland packet from England has made it necessary for his Lordship to change his whole plan; and you are now to assist Sir Ralph Abercrombie in driving the French from Egypt, instead of seizing on Batavia.

"'I am, my dear General,

"'Yours most faithfully,

"'Wm. Kirkpatrick.'"

By a sudden attack of illness, Colonel Wellesley, the future Duke of Wellington, was prevented from taking a command

in this expedition, and in a letter to Sir David Baird, dated April 9th, 1801, expresses his disappointment at being obliged to relinquish his share therein. To his brother, the Hon. H. Wellesley, he had said in a previous letter in reference thereto,

"I have been a slave to it to this moment notwithstanding I was sick.

"The objects proposed by Mr. Dundas, and by the Governor-general, in the expedition to the Red Sea, are,

"1stly. To get possession of the forts and posts which the French may have on its shores.

"2ndly. To urge and encourage the natives of Upper Egypt (Mamalukes and Arabs) to commence hostilities against them.

"3rdly. To assist the operations of the natives by giving them arms and ammunition; or by a junction with them, either of part or of the whole of the force.

"The advanced state of the season renders it probable that it will be so difficult to reach Suez, that the object is not attainable. It is possible, however, that the force which left Bombay in December last, under the orders of Admiral Blanquet, may have succeeded in effecting the objects in view when it was fitted out, as far as they relate to Suez. Cosseir will then be the first object of attention, and the operations of the army ought to be directed, in the first instance, to gain possession of that place. * * *

"It is needless to enter into a statement of the difficulties to be apprehended in crossing the desert; they are certainly great, but I imagine not insurmountable.

"But if it is not certain that the army or detachments which may cross the desert, will partake of the plenty of the banks of the Nile when they reach them; if they should be certain of having water only, and such forage as their cattle should be able to pick up; I apprehend that the difficulty will be-

come so great that the expedition ought not to be attempted;" and further, weighing the probabilities in favour of and against the expedition, the late Duke adds, "Upon the whole, I am decidedly of opinion that, if the Mamalukes are not on our side, no attempt ought to be made to cross the desert."

The actual difficulties which had to be surmounted by the expedition justified fully the conception formed of them by Colonel Wellesley.

It sailed from India in December 1800, and having to contend with the monsoon which had set in before it arrived at the entrance of the Red Sea, it was unable to reach Cosseir so soon as anticipated. That effected, the troops, with but short respite, prepared for their march across the "long desert" from Cosseir on the Red Sea to Kenna on the Nile. During this march, accompanied with dangers and fatigues of so novel a character to British troops, the 88th (Connaught Rangers) formed the van of Sir David Baird's army, and thus had the honour of being, by a day's march, the first British regiment to tread that perilous route.*

In fourteen days the gallant little army completed the passage of 140 miles. Its pathway was chiefly as in a defile—through ravines and between hills, varying in height from five to 1500 feet. Not a trace of vegetation could be discovered; the eye rested every where upon bare and naked rocks, or upon sands and gravel. The thermometer by day stood at 115 degrees of Fahrenheit in the shade, and the nights even—the time of march—were oppressively sultry. The thirst suffered by the troops was unquenchable with the brackish water of the wells dug by the Arabs, and it found relief only in a little diluted vinegar. Upon reaching Kenna, it was with indescribable transport that the troops laved their parched lips in

* Historical Records of the Connaught Rangers.

the waters of the Nile; and forgetting then all their toils, they embarked in boats upon its bosom, reached Grand Cairo at length, and effected a junction with their countrymen under the command of Major-general (afterwards Lord) Hutchinson.

B. p. 148.

In the "Historical Record of the 88th Regiment of Foot," page 6, the following honourable mention is made of the veteran General Reid, here referred to by Sir James McGrigor: —

"Among the measures of defence taken at this time by the Government to secure the country against the invasion with which it was threatened by Buonaparte, a general order was issued from the Horse Guards on the 2nd of December, 1803, commanding that (in case of the enemy's effecting a landing in any part of the United Kingdom) all officers below the rank of general officers, and not attached to any particular regiment, should report themselves in person to the general officer commanding the district in which they might happen to reside; and requesting all general officers not employed on the staff to transmit immediately their addresses to the Adjutant-General. The Colonel of the 88th, the veteran General Reid, was then in his eighty-second year; yet he immediately obeyed the summons, and transmitted his address in a letter so spirited as to deserve a place in the memoirs of the regiment which he commanded, and upon which his gallantry reflected honour.

"'London, December 6, 1803.

"'Sir,—In obedience to the orders of his Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief, expressed in the 'London Gazette'

of Saturday last, for all general officers not employed on the staff to report to you their address, I have the honour to inform you that I am to be found at No. 7, Woodstock Street, near Oxford Street; that I am an old man, in the eighty-second year of my age, and have become very deaf and infirm; but I am still ready, if my services will be accepted, to use my feeble arm in the defence of my king and country; having had the good fortune on former occasions to have been repeatedly successful in action against our perfidious enemies, on whom, I thank God, I never turned my back.

"'I have, &c.

"'(Signed) JOHN REID, General,

"'Colonel of the 88th Regiment.

"'To the Adjutant-General.'"

C. p. 154.

Though Sir James McGrigor refers thus lightly to his literary labours, they were in reality more numerous and of greater value to science and the public service than might be deemed from this his passing allusion thereto. In 1801, he had already presented to the Bombay Medical Board a "Memoir on the state of Health of the 88th Regiment, and of the Corps attached to it from June 1800, to May 1801." In the year 1808, he published a letter of reply to Dr. Bancroft, who had published some strictures on the Fifth Report of the Commissioners of Military Inquiry. In 1810, he published in the sixth volume of the "Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal," some valuable observations on the fever which appeared in the army on its return from Spain to England in

1809. His next publication of importance was a folio volume (in 1838) entitled, "Statistical Reports on the Sickness, Mortality, and Invaliding among the Troops in the West Indies;" prepared from the records of the Boards of the Army Medical Department and War Office Returns. In the following year he published "Statistical Reports on the Sickness, Mortality, and Invaliding among the Troops in the United Kingdom, the Mediterranean, and British America." This also was in folio.

His next, and perhaps most interesting publication, is a paper which appeared in the sixth volume of the "Medico-Chirurgical Transactions," being a "Sketch of the Medical History of the British Armies in the Peninsula of Spain and Portugal during those Campaigns." But it may be justly said that the later labours of his long Directorship of the Medical Department of the Army were of a literary character, if the labours of the pen may be so designated; for it was during his zealous administration of that arduous office that the "Medical Army Reports," which will always hold a high place in medical literature, owed to him their creation.

D. p. 250.

The Parliamentary investigation referred to by Sir James McGrigor formed no exception to the general character of many of our State trials. Mr. Hallam observes that "The State trials of England exhibit the most appalling accumulation of judicial iniquity, which is to be found in any age or country of the world; and far exceeding in atrocity anything recorded of legal injustice in the annals even of Eastern despotism. The reason," as he justly adds, "is, that the monarch

could not wreak his vengeance, or the contending nobles or parties destroy each other, as in other states, by open outrage or undisguised violence; and that the courts of law were the theatre, and State prosecutions the engines, by which the oppression was perpetrated, and these contests of faction conducted."

The debates in Parliament on the Walcheren expedition were much in the same spirit, although there were the strongest grounds for the indignation of the country, and therefore for the prosecution of inquiries upon the calamitous issue of the expedition. But far beyond these, it was made in Parliament an instrument of political partisanship by the Opposition. It was alleged that the whole blame of the failure of the expedition rested with ministers, and ministers alone; that from the very first, success was unattainable; that Antwerp was injudiciously selected as the point of attack; that the forces were ill-directed, and last, not least, that sanitary laws and provisions had been grossly overlooked.

As bearing on the last charge only, that on which Sir James McGrigor gave his evidence, the following extract from the Parliamentary records of the day will enable the reader to form some estimate of the inquiries addressed to him.

"Martis, 6° die Martii, 1810.

"*The Right Honourable Sir John Anstruther, Bart., in the Chair*

"James McGrigor, M.D., was called in. Examined by the Committee:—

"Did you succeed Mr. Webb as Chief of the Medical Staff of the Island of Walcheren?—I did.

"At what date did you take upon you the charge of the department?—I arrived on the 29th September, and took charge two days afterwards.

"Did you continue in charge of the department till the evacuation of the island?—I did.

"Did the sick of the army during your superintendence experience any want of medicines, and particularly of bark?—They did not.

"Did they experience any want of medical comforts, and particularly of wine and porter?—I know they did not.

"Did the hospitals during the time you were in charge, experience any want of bedding, or were the sick well accommodated?—The sick did not experience want of bedding; there were in a few instances two men in a bed from want of room.

"Was there any material want experienced of medical officers?—The soldiers in the island, I believe, had at all times medical attendance, though the duty was excessively severe upon the medical officers.

"Did you call in the assistance of the medical people of the island, and with what effect?—I did; I called in I think four, and attached them to the two battalions of the German Legion.

"Did you find the arrangement succeed?—They were very usefully employed with those battalions.

"Do you apprehend that if the army had been landed to carry on operations against Antwerp, it would have been exposed in the neighbourhood of Antwerp to any extraordinary sickness?—I never was at Antwerp myself; I have understood from the French officers that the country near Antwerp was healthy.

"Was there a sufficiency of medical assistance during the time of the sickness in Walcheren?—I have said that I know no instance of the soldiers wanting attendance, though the duty was so excessively severe as to occasion the illness of the officers.

"Can you state whether there would have been any con-

siderable difficulty in obtaining an additional number of medical assistants from England if they had been required?—I have understood there was great difficulty found in England in getting medical assistants.

"Can you state to the Committee from what cause; whether from a want of giving them proper encouragement, or that they were not to be found?—I should think that if they had proper encouragement a sufficient number might be found.

"Have you had any experience of the effect of a fumigation by nitrous acid, in preventing contagion?—I have.

"State to the Committee what the result of that experience has been?—It has been favourable to the use of the fumigation.

"Was it constantly used in the different hospitals in Walcheren over which you had the superintendence?—It was not in every hospital, because there were no appearances of contagion existing; I directed it to be used in several.

"Was it not generally of the gaol distemper or typhus-fever our men died on the island of Walcheren?—It was not generally.

"Do you know of the stock of bark in store at Walcheren being reduced so low as three hundred pounds at any time?—I forwarded to the surgeon-general a representation from the purveyor on the 3rd of October, stating that he had in store bark only for two days.

"When was any additional supply received from England?—To the best of my recollection no supply came after my arrival till about the 11th of October.

"How was the bark obtained in the meantime for the use of the hospital?—By purchase in the island. I understood from an adventurer, a man who came out with bark for sale.

"What do you mean by an adventurer?—A man who came out to offer bark for sale.

"From this country?—I understood so, but I never saw the man.

"It was by an accidental circumstance of that kind that bark was obtained till further supplies came from England?—I find by my notes that fourteen hundred and sixty pounds of bark were purchased.

"Supposing that adventurer had not had a quantity of bark for sale, the hospitals would have been without any supply? —I believe they would.

"In that case, might not a supply of bark, more than sufficient to cover the interval, have been procured from the navy?—I cannot certainly say the quantity of bark that might have been procured from the navy; I have understood that the quantity the navy had was not large.

"Did your treatment of the sick differ from that of your predecessor?—My duty was not the immediate treatment of the sick; that was left to the physicians and surgeons of the army. My duty was that of the general superintendence of the hospital and the medical department.

"Have you formed any opinion of the nature of the disease at Walcheren?—I have.

"Have you the same opinion of the disease now which you had before you went to Walcheren?—I have, as I had been in the country at a former period.

"Did not General Whetham, at Portsmouth, make every distribution in his power for the accommodation of the sick? —I know that he did before I went out.

"Relative to the admittance of a number of sick into a certain hospital, or barrack at Portsmouth?—I do not know what particular hospitals.

"Did General Whetham admit, as far as his means allowed him, a competent number of sick into a barrack at Portsmouth, which was the subject of a request made by the

surgeon-general of the army ?—General Whetham provided the fullest accommodations for all the sick that offered.

"On what day did you take charge of the hospitals in Walcheren ?—Two days after my arrival in the island, which was the 29th of September.

"Do you recollect about that period a recommendation from some medical officer in that island, that a certain quantity of port wine should be allowed to the convalescents ?—I know that my predecessor did make that recommendation.

"Do you mean to say that Mr. Webb made that recommendation ?—After Mr. Webb's illness, Mr. Burrows, for a short period, acted as inspector till I took charge.

"Did you approve of that recommendation ?—As far as it was practicable.

"Was it practicable ?—It was practicable to all the convalescents who were in hospital.

"What was the number of convalescents at that time ?—I can only answer that by saying that the total sick of the army, including convalescents, when I arrived was 9800, including officers.

"How many of the 9800 were allowed port wine, and in what quantity were they allowed it ?—I cannot from recollection say the exact number, though it was the greater part of that number, perhaps about 9000 of those.

"Was that about the number that was under hospital treatment at that time ?—About the number I cannot say exactly, without reference to returns, which I could produce.

"Is the Committee to understand that there were 9000 persons who were allowed port wine ?—Certainly not; many of those cases did not require port wine, some of them had porter, some of them required neither the one nor the other.

"Was there port wine enough for those that required it ?—

I believe there never was at any time after my arrival any want of port wine.

"The witness was directed to withdraw.

"The Chairman was directed to report progress, and ask leave to sit again."

E. p. 279.

How faithfully and generously Lord Wellington fulfilled that promise is attested by the following letter * to the Earl of Liverpool, Secretary of State:—

"Camp at Badajoz, April 8, 1812.

"My Lord,—It gives me great pleasure to inform your Lordship that our numerous wounded officers and soldiers are doing well.

"I have had great reason to be satisfied with the attention paid to them by Mr. McGrigor, the Inspector-General of Hospitals, and the medical gentlemen under his direction, and

* Of this the Duke apprised Sir James, in the following letter:—

"Elvas de Avila, July 25, 1812, 2 P.M.

"My dear Sir,—I have received your letter of yesterday at noon, and I am very much obliged to you for the good accounts which you have given me of our wounded. I assure you that I am very sensible of the diligence and attention of the Medical Department, of which I have reported my sense to the Secretary of State.

"I think you will do well to send to Ciudad Rodrigo only those whose wounds are not likely ever to recover, and the movement of whom will not be prejudicial to them, as we must get the men to their regiments again as soon as we can.

"Ever yours most faithfully,

"WELLINGTON."

"Dr. McGrigor."

I trust that the loss to the service upon this occasion, will not eventually be great.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"WELLINGTON.

"The Earl of Liverpool."

F. p. 296.

We are privileged to furnish here the following unpublished memorandum from the pen of the historian of the Peninsular War, in further notice of Colonel Colquhoun Grant. Its form is that of a record of the Colonel's services submitted to his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, dated Sept. 1st, 1857:—

"The late Brigadier-General Colquhoun Grant was an intimate friend of mine, which enables me to make the following statement with a sure knowledge; but for the estimation in which he was held by the Duke of Wellington, I doubt not that a reference to Lord Seaton, Lord Downes, and Sir George Scovell, will obtain a corroboration of my assertions.

"Grant served as a regimental officer in the West Indies—real service against an enemy; and also on the staff of Sir George Prevost, who very highly esteemed him.

"In the Peninsula he was soon selected by the Duke of Wellington, as one of his exploring officers, men of whom the Duke in after times said to me, 'No army in the world ever produced the like,' and he particularly dwelt upon the merits of Colquhoun Grant and Waters. I say exploring officers, because Grant was also employed to conduct a great portion of the secret intelligence; and it might be erroneously supposed he acted personally as a spy. There was *a* Grant

who did so, and a very remarkable man he was in his line: but Colquhoun Grant, though he repeatedly penetrated the enemy's line, and even passed days in their cantonments, was always in uniform, trusting entirely to his personal resources, and with reason, for his sagacity, courage, and quickness were truly remarkable, scarcely to be matched. A curious adventure, illustrating at once his qualities and his services, has been by me related at length in my history of the war. As conductor of the secret intelligence, Grant, besides his own personal exploits, displayed a surprising skill. I have seen letters from Alcaldes, and other agents of his from all parts of Spain, conveying intelligence rare and useful; and it is worth noticing, that he told me his best, and indeed his only sure spies, were men who acted from patriotism, and would not accept money. His talent in discovering them was not the least of his merits. These are indications of the man's character; but my object is to draw his Royal Highness's attention to points little known, where Colquhoun Grant's efforts in the public service were eminently advantageous.

"When Marmont came down on Beiro in 1812, the Duke of Wellington's operations and designs were seriously affected, because, from the Spaniards' conduct, Ciudad Rodrigo was in great danger of being taken by a *coup de main*, and Almeida also, from its weakness, was in a like danger. The rapidity necessary to succour these places was very embarrassing. In this difficulty, Colquhoun Grant, as shown in my history, daringly entered the enemy's cantonments, and then perseveringly hung upon his flank, watching his every movement; counting his numbers; and finally ascertaining that his scaling-ladders were left in Tamames; he assured the Duke that no *coup de main* was designed, and that Marmont's force was not such as to menace a serious invasion of Portugal. Thus time was given for arrangements, and a regular movement was

made, which accident alone prevented being fatal to the French army.

"When Napoleon returned from Elba the Duke instantly called Grant from the Military College at Farnham to Belgium, to take charge of the Intelligence Department. Before a week had elapsed he discovered and engaged a man and his wife, people particularly fitted for his purpose, to go to Paris as spies. From thence they transmitted constant and sure intelligence, having by some means access to the French Bureau de la Guerre. On the 15th of June the man sent a note, which I have seen, noted thus by the Duke of Wellington in his own hand: "Received from Grant, June the 18th, eleven o'clock;" that is to say, just as the battle of Waterloo was commencing, and this document and its story are remarkable. Had it been received, as it ought to have been, two days before the battle, no surprise of the allies could have happened, and the great battle would have been fought and won on the banks of the Sambre. The contents were in substance, and I think nearly in words, besides a great deal of minor information, thus: "Les routes sont encombrées de troupes et de matériel, les officiers de toutes grades parlent haut que la grande bataille sera livrée avant trois jours." Why was this important notice withheld from the Duke until it was too late? Grant was too far in advance of the British outposts to be near his agents; other agents were employed by the Duke in various directions, and to ensure the regular transmission of their reports, General Dornberg was placed at Condé, I think, as an intermediate authority. That general mistook his position, and fancied he was to judge of the importance and value of the reports; hence on receiving Grant's important letter he sent it back, saying that so far from convincing him that the Emperor was advancing for battle, it assured him of the contrary. Grant instantly conveyed his

letter direct to the Duke, but it only reached him on the field of Waterloo, too late to be useful, but furnishing a convincing proof of Grant's great talents; for never was intelligence more important, more exact, or more complete, procured for a general in such grave circumstances. At Paris, after the battle, Grant's services were again very important to the army. The allies, as happens in most armies, were very diligent in appropriating the spoils of war, without much regarding the British rights. The troops were aware of this, and discontented, thinking their interests were neglected by the Duke; but secretly, Grant was put upon the watch, and he and his agents were everywhere taking notes of all guns and stores improperly removed from the British stock. I was with him when he in person detected guns being carried away in boats on the Seine; he thus enabled the Duke to obtain restitution, in money, I believe, and so saved the army from loss. After this European war, Grant went to India, and served as a Brigadier-General in the first Burmese war, in command of a movable column upon Arracan; there he was stricken by fever, which brought him home, and soon after sent him to his grave.

"(Signed) WILLIAM NAPIER, Lieut.-General."

In this place it will perhaps be considered an interesting and graceful act by his countrymen to couple with the name of Colonel Colquhoun Grant that of his brother Colonel Alexander Grant, who so much distinguished himself in those Indian wars—particularly that of the Mahratta—which were the foundation of the fame of the Duke of Wellington. Passing over many of the numerous actions and assaults in which he gained the applause of his superior officers, and the confidence of his soldiers; it may be remarked that the military tact and individual exploits of Brigade-major Grant

were specially conspicuous; and at the battle of Assaye they have been widely admitted to have contributed in no small degree to the decision of that memorable day. It was at his suggestion that the decisive charge of cavalry was made which saved the gallant 74th Regiment from being annihilated, and his subsequent ubiquity in the field, together with his personal exertions wherever the enemy appeared to be collecting, obtained for him the admiration of all who witnessed them. In the heat of the action, and in competition with the gallant Capt. Seale of the 19th Dragoons, he was the first to come up with the German officer Pholman, a favourite leader in Scindiah's army, and cut him off his horse. On his return to England he received from his sovereign the dignity of C. B., but died prematurely, his constitution, though naturally vigorous, being broken down by his numerous campaigns.

G. p. 371.

"Jovis, 8° die Martii, 1810.

"*The Right Hon. Sir John Anstruther, Bart., in the Chair.*

"Sir Lucas Pepys, Bart., again called in. Examined by the Committee.

"Having stated in your former examination that you were ordered, about the 10th of September last, to go to Harwich, to investigate the disease of those who had returned from Walcheren, and that you went accordingly; and having stated what you conceive to be the nature of the disease, with which you said you were previously perfectly acquainted; explain to the Committee on what grounds it was that in your letter to the Secretary at War, on the 27th of September, you stated as a reason for desiring to be excused from pro-

ceeding to Walcheren, that you knew nothing of the investigation of camp and contagious diseases?—It could not be supposed, after my letters to the Secretary at War, of the 11th and 13th of September, in which I gave a detailed account of the disease, that I could be unacquainted with it, or have no knowledge of it. I conceived, therefore, that as they were in possession of that, they merely wanted the duties of an inspectorial investigation to take place; by which I understand that of attending to the distribution of the sick, that they should have proper billets, and not, as was then reported, be deposited in damp places, in churches, and ill-aired warehouses; that they should particularly have attention paid to the embarkation of the sick for England; that no dying person should be sent on board the transports; that every transport should have a medical officer on board. Those I considered to be inspectorial duties, and as such, declared myself not competent to them, *not having ever been in the habit of them.* But as to the knowledge of the diseases, it is perfectly clear I must have understood them from the letters of the 11th and 13th of September, which, if not before the House, I should hope will be before the House; those will plainly show that I perfectly understood the nature of the disease."

THE END.

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